

President George W. Bush, Presidential Rhetoric and Constructions of Otherness, Post 9/11

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the rhetoric which President George W. Bush used to meet the demands resulting from the atrocities of 9/11, during the immediate aftermath and in days and weeks following those atrocities. Bush's presidential rhetoric was far more than just words it was an entire performance, and it is that performance and the people behind the construction and dissemination of the language and performance with which this thesis is interested.

This research adds knowledge to the field of *presidential rhetoric* by adopting the analytical approach of a rhetorical critic to scrutinize Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. The analysis reveals a sophisticated interpretation of the various levels of meaning available to the American public and the wider audience given the social and cultural period in which the atrocities and rhetoric transpired. The same analytical approach is utilized to distinguish previous presidential rhetoric after unique attacks with that of Bush post 9/11. This delivers a nuanced understanding of the influence of the media, speechwriters, presidential personality and the historical period in the formation and presentation of presidential rhetoric.

This is achieved by scrutinizing the events ('rhetorical situations' (Bitzer, 1968)) including the sinking of the Lusitania, the attack on Pearl Harbor, the

Iran hostage siege and comparing and contrasting these to 9/11 and Bush's response to the demands of that situation. The thesis characterizes and analyses the way presidential rhetoric incorporated the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through religious myths to delineate the boundaries for the American public to gain an understanding of *why* the attacks occurred and *how* they needed to respond. This may be referred to as the patriotic discourse.

DECLARATION

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted in any form for the award of a Higher Degree at any other educational institution.

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THESIS

INTRODUCTION

On September 11, 2001 America experienced terrifying attacks in which thousands of American citizens lost their lives and as a consequence, September 14, 2001 was designated American National Day of Prayer. On that day President George W. Bush¹ delivered a sermon from the American National Cathedral, and a mere two hours later was visiting 'Ground Zero' the epicentre of the worst attack to hit mainland America in living memory.

'Ground Zero': Before Bush (2001g) uttered his first words the crowds were already chanting 'U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!'² The scene was reminiscent of a 'pep rally' trying to bolster the confidence of the local sporting team before going into 'battle' against their adversary, and the press coverage was no less theatrical. President Bush, standing on top of a fire truck with his arm around Bob Beckwith, a retired fireman, began: 'Thank you all. I want you all to know' (2001g); but the crowd were impatient shouting to the President that they could not hear. Bush started again:

*I want you all to know America ... is on bended
knee in prayer for the people whose lives
were lost here, for the workers who work here,
for the families who mourn (Bush, 2001g).*

¹ Throughout this thesis whenever, Bush, or President Bush is named it is a reference to George W. Bush, the 43rd President of the United States, not to be confused with his father George H.W. Bush, the 41st President of the United States.

² Rove (2010) states that he accompanied Bush to Ground Zero on 14-09-2001. His recollection of the day is that Bush went there with no prepared remarks as the intention was for Bush to walk around some of the site, meet workers, shake hands and talk to them individually. According to Rove, Nina Bishop tugged on his sleeve and stated: 'They want to hear from their [P]resident', and Rove agreed and asked Bishop to find a bull horn (Rove, 2010: 277). Rove was standing next to a ruined fire truck and organized for the men/man (two disappeared before the President arrived) to give Bush a hand up onto the truck.

Again the crowd shouted to the President that they could not hear him. Bush's carefully considered words, trying to emphasize the unity that Americans across the continent shared with New Yorkers, were being delivered standing before an audience that was exhausted, weary, exasperated and losing hope in the battle for finding survivors.

Bush (2001g), after being told twice that he was inaudible, acknowledged and raised his voice. Bush shouted back to the rescue workers:

I can hear you. (Applause.) I can hear you.

The rest of the world hears you. (Applause.)

And the people who knocked these buildings

down will hear all of us soon (Applause.)

(Bush, 2001g).

The crowd were absolutely absorbed in the moment and they began to chant once again: 'U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!'

President Bush (2001g) had thereby managed to achieve, through his inability to be heard, perhaps far more than he would have, had he completed his original few words. This was a 'pep rally' par excellence! Men and women already idealized in the American public's perception for their heroism and fortitude in America's martyrdom. These were the firemen, policemen, and rescue workers that had made the ultimate sacrifice for 'life, liberty, and the

pursuit of happiness’³, for America’s freedom. Consequently, when Bush (2001g) shouted back: ‘I can hear you. ... And the people who knocked down these buildings will hear all of us soon!’ Bush was calling on all of America to unite behind him and the American heroes, to safeguard American freedom. But it was not an ordinary battle, it was Bush’s crusade, and America as the ‘Chosen Nation’ (Hughes, 2004) was being directed to unite behind him and the American heroes to rid the world of these evildoers.

The images created during the visit by President Bush, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, to the site of devastation where the twin towers once stood are possibly more poignant than anything that was spoken or heard. Bush’s visit to the epicentre of the attacks on the National Day of Prayer, just hours after delivering a sermon from the American National Cathedral was in essence, consecrating ‘Ground Zero’ as hallowed ground. It connotes images of Lincoln delivering the Gettysburg Address.

*... we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate,
we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men
living and dead have consecrated it [the ground]
... [and because of that] this nation, under God
shall have a new birth of freedom ...
(Lincoln, 1863, November 19: cited in White, 2008).*

³ ‘Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness’ originate from the 1776 Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson. Chapter Five illustrates the significance of such language in arousing American religious identity.

Lincoln was dedicating the Soldiers' National Cemetery in Gettysburg Pennsylvania for the thousands who had lost their lives during a decisive battle in the Civil War. The Gettysburg Address broadened the discourse for understanding the American Civil War, from entirely being about America's fight for unity to also encompass America's 'new birth of freedom' (White, 2008).

Gartner (2008) asserts images of war both positive and negative have an effect on public opinion for the instigation of, or the continued support for, any military operation. Appreciating the significance of symbolic images of war (and in this instance the site of the World Trade Center looked like a war zone), the image of Bush alongside fire fighters resonated with the entire American population. Consequently, Bush's (2001g) few words at 'Ground Zero' on America's National Day of Prayer, similarly to Lincoln's (1863) address more than a century earlier served the purpose of venerating both the site and 'American freedom'. Gartner (2008) acknowledges the influence of such images of war in assisting and promoting crucial philosophical debates and national policy about the systems connecting national sentiment and war⁴.

The illustration of Bush at 'Ground Zero' exemplifies the significance of the media in both capturing and disseminating the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) and also the presidential rhetoric used to respond to that situation. The example of Bush visiting 'Ground Zero' provides the contextualization for

⁴ Glass (2010) argues that the 'War on Drugs' was coined in 1971 by Nixon and used extensively by Reagan from October 14, 1982 as a means to secure policy legislation.

explaining the proposition upon which this thesis is based. The following outlines the thinking behind the proposition and concludes with a structure for the chapters of the thesis.

THESIS PROPOSITON:

The Attack:

The proposition of this thesis is that after 9/11, Bush used constructions of 'otherness' through American religious myths to define the boundaries for understanding *why* the attacks happened and *how* 'good' Americans needed to react. Accordingly, it is necessary to explain the rationale underpinning this logic and to that extent it is worthwhile beginning with the attack, 9/11. On September 11th, 2001 America suffered its worst attacks on American soil carried out by foreign terrorists in living memory. The attacks of 9/11 were symbolic in various ways and at different levels of understanding; these levels of understanding will be expanded upon throughout the thesis. The World Trade Center Twin Towers, a symbol of America's dominance of the world financial markets, were first hit by commercial airliners and then collapsed and disintegrated. The Pentagon, a symbol of America's hegemonic military global standing, was ruptured by a civilian airliner. The Pennsylvania countryside, which is the site of Gettysburg and a symbol of American history, was scarred and burned where a commercial airliner crashed, and the

American Air force were powerless in their prevention of any of these events.⁵ The individual attacks in isolation would have been horrific, but the fact that the three occurred within a couple of hours of each other and with a worldwide audience witnessing the events, added to the intensity of incredulity of the moment. Therefore, to suggest that 9/11 was a seminal moment in American history almost appears, even now, more than ten years on, an understatement. The scale of the atrocities created within the American populace a climate of fear, terror, disbelief, and at the same time sheer wonderment that there were survivors.

Presidential Rhetoric:

Under such an extreme set of circumstances the American public wanted reassurance from their Commander in Chief, the US President. The rhetorical nature and stature of the US Presidency as an institution is illustrated by a mere mention of the White House, or Oval Office and the global public immediately recognize this as a reference to the President of the United States. For the purposes of this thesis the value of the rhetorical presidency is in the way it facilitates the influence of presidential rhetoric, and is expanded upon in Chapter One and Chapter Eight. MacLennan (2009) suggests there is a commonly held assumption in recent times that rhetoric means only 'the undue use of exaggeration or display ... concerned with mere style or effect', this is not the meaning employed within this thesis. The term rhetoric is being

⁵ This thesis is not endeavouring to question or analyse the part played by the American Air Force in the crash of United Airline Flight 93, which will undoubtedly be the remit of many historians.

used throughout the thesis within the traditional sense of the word: ‘influencing the thought and conduct of an audience’ by utilizing effective language (MacLennan, 2009).⁶ Consequently, presidential rhetoric is being considered within Neustadt’s (1990: 11) concept that the power of the President lies in his ‘power to persuade’. The area examined within this thesis concentrates on the presidential rhetoric used immediately after an attack and the way in which it was used to influence the American public regarding their understanding and response to the attack.

The magnitude of the 9/11 attacks and the traumatic nature in which the world witnessed the event, the ‘rhetorical situation’ (Bitzer, 1968), created a need for Bush to address the American public on numerous occasions in the immediate aftermath of the event. The atrocities also produced a unique opportunity for Bush to utilize his presidential rhetoric to define the parameters of the discourse for understanding 9/11. This thesis adopts an approach that will specifically identify the way Bush utilized the ‘rhetoric of otherness’ (Otto, 1973) through American myths to define *why* the attacks occurred and *how* ‘good’ Americans needed to respond in the aftermath of 9/11. There were contributory factors which influenced Bush’s presidential rhetoric, the media and his speechwriters. The significance of the media was twofold, both in broadcasting live transmissions of the attacks, and also in capturing and disseminating Bush’s post 9/11 rhetoric to a global audience. Moreover, any analysis of Bush’s post 9/11 rhetoric must take into account the significance of

⁶ Chapter One and Chapter Two expand upon the term rhetoric and how it is being considered within this thesis.

Bush's relationship with, and reliance upon, his speechwriters. Nevertheless, the role of the presidential speechwriter remains, to convey the ideas of the President, in this case Bush and individual respective Presidents considered. It is the language of religious myths and how they speak to the experience that remains central within the analysis.

The critical examination of Bush's post 9/11 presidential rhetoric will be the culmination of the different case studies. By structuring the thesis in this manner it will allow a chronological process of the media, the changing nature of the speechwriters' role and the presidential rhetoric to all follow the same historical changes. The points of comparison within the presidential rhetoric after unique attacks demonstrate the importance of contextualizing the event and appreciating the available information (and how it was delivered) about the event to the American public at the time of attack. Each case study will be scrutinized from the same position, namely, that of the rhetorical critic, which is defined in Chapter Two. The language used by Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Jimmy Carter post attack, will illustrate the similarities and differences between their rhetoric and that of Bush post 9/11, while at the same time appreciating the historical context in which they transpired. This will deliver a nuanced understanding of the necessary 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) and the demands from that event which enable a President to use the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) and for it to answer the *why* and *how* exposition.

The Discourse:

The very fact that the 9/11 atrocities were viewed globally meant that Bush's rhetoric was not required for defining the rhetorical event. Instead Bush's rhetoric was instrumental for defining the boundaries of understanding *why* the attacks happened and *how*⁷ 'good' patriotic Americans needed to respond. Equally, because the '*why* and *how*' exposition was a means of 'educating' the American people regarding the behaviour required from good or upstanding Americans, this will be referred to as Bush's initiation of a patriotic discourse, post 9/11. Indeed, it is the contention of this thesis that Bush, post 9/11 initiated the patriotic discourse as a means of identity politics to establish 'American' and 'un-American' behaviour. Accordingly, to demonstrate whether this is an accurate proposition it is valuable to first consider how other Presidents have incorporated constructions of otherness. This will reveal the conditions required for presidential rhetoric to employ the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) and *what* exposition it answers.

Otherness:

The primary contention and principal focus of this thesis is that Bush used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through American myths for the purpose of educating the American public on their required patriotic behaviour. Otto

⁷ Because the questions, 'why' and 'how' the 9/11 atrocities happened, have significant importance within the analysis of the thesis they will always be in italics when used a reference to the '*why* and *how* exposition'.

(1973) asserts that the 'rhetoric of otherness' has particular resonance after a rhetorical situation or event that causes utter disbelief, demonic dread, and miraculous wonderment. Otto's (1973) theory and analytical value are described in Chapter Three. The atrocities of 9/11 fulfil Otto's (1973) criteria and the significance of the term regarding this thesis resides in the belief that American religious myths are based on 'otherness'.

The Myths:

It is being suggested that the purpose of using myths within presidential rhetoric in the immediate aftermath of an atrocity has been to initiate a particular understanding about the attack being examined. Campbell (1988) argues that by imparting explanations through myths people possess the capacity to make sense of what has happened in their own lives. Campbell (1988) suggests that myths are expressions in the form of emblematical or figurative images, in metaphorical images, of the rivalry within or between people, processes, and structures. The rivalry Campbell (1988) refers to is the construction of otherness, either within or between people, processes, and structures. Chapter Three elucidates why a contention within this thesis is that otherness resides at the heart of American myths, including the 'Chosen People', the 'Chosen Nation', 'Nature's Nation' and the 'Innocent Nation' (Hughes, 2004).

The Synthesis:

The validity and soundness of this thesis proposition will be identified by critically analysing individual President's post attack presidential rhetoric, and this will be achieved by the author adopting the position of a rhetorical critic. This thesis will add knowledge to the field of *presidential rhetoric* by its depth and breadth of analysis regarding the rhetorical event and the presidential rhetoric that was delivered in the aftermath. Presidential rhetoric is delivered for many purposes. The concern for this thesis however, is after 9/11 how Bush used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through American myths to define the parameters of a patriotic discourse. This will be achieved by first examining previous presidential rhetoric after unique attacks and comparing that with Bush, post 9/11. Therefore, the analysis will examine many aspects including: the available media technology; the position and standing of the President's speechwriters; the personality of the President; the circumstances surrounding the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968); the historical era in which the events examined occurred; and the capacity for using the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). The following details how the thesis will be structured, and a summary of the content of each chapter.

Thesis Structure:

Chapter One: The Literature Review

This chapter will consider the literature within the discipline of Presidential Rhetoric, which is divided into two areas of investigation, the *rhetorical presidency* (Windt, 1984; Tulis, 1987; Campbell and Jamieson, 2008) and *presidential rhetoric* (Bostdorff, 2003; Zarefsky, 2004; Stuckey, 2010). The chapter distinguishes between the two areas of enquiry and describes why this work should be positioned within the area of *presidential rhetoric*. The chapter communicates the variety of ways in which this thesis adds to knowledge in the discipline, and the section Thesis Value, summarizes the different aspects of growth in this area. The literature review will also examine the literature directly related to the unique analysis being adopted within this thesis, which will encompass the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973), and American myths (Hughes, 2004; Campbell, 1988) and their rhetorical capabilities.

Chapter Two: Towards an Analytical Approach

The chapter will examine the various analytical options available for interpreting Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric within the discipline of *presidential rhetoric*. Following that will be the justification for choosing to analyse from the position of a rhetorical critic, and the reasoning behind the choice of specific previous US Presidents as points of comparison. The chapter concludes with the rationale for choosing the different areas of scrutiny for

presidential rhetoric. These areas include: the role of media technology; the position and standing of the President's speechwriters; the personality of the President; the nature and severity of the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) alongside the historical era and thus the capability of using the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973).

Chapter Three: American Myths and Constructions of Otherness

This is the key chapter for understanding the synergy between American religious myths the place they hold in American religious identity and constructions of otherness. It is important because presidential rhetoric and the way the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has been used after unique seminal events to arouse American religious identity forms the analysis of this thesis. The chapter examines this synergy by considering American religious identity and the necessity for this to be understood in the sense of 'moral orientation' (Eisenach, 2000) rather than religious affiliation (Huntington, 2004). The chapter elucidates upon the significance of American myths and the way constructions of otherness remain at the core of these myths. It concludes by demonstrating the interrelationship between these factors and the significance for understanding the analysis that follows.

Chapter Four: Changing Environment for Presidential Speechwriters

The chapter charts the changing nature of the presidential speechwriter role with the changing nature of media technology over the twentieth century.

When examining the differences between individual President's rhetoric after a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) the role of the presidential speechwriter is informative for understanding the construction and the available media for the dissemination of the presidential rhetoric. However, that does not reflect the full picture, the contention within this thesis is that the role of the presidential speechwriter for any given address is influenced by the nature of the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), by the relationship between the President and the presidential speechwriters, and by the personality of the President.

Chapter Five – Chapter Seven

Each chapter examines a unique seminal moment in American history (rhetorical situation) and the presidential rhetoric which was used to meet the demands of that situation. It will achieve consistency across the historical periods by scrutinizing: the available media for both revealing the event to the American public and disseminating the presidential rhetoric post event; the President and his values and personality in relation to his speechwriters; and the context surrounding the delivery of the rhetoric and the historical era. It will then differentiate the circumstances between that presidential rhetoric and Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric.

Chapter Five: ‘The Naturalization Ceremony Address’

This chapter will analyse the presidential rhetoric of Wilson after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* and compare that to Bush’s post 9/11 rhetoric.

Chapter Six: ‘The Day of Infamy Speech’

This chapter will analyse the presidential rhetoric of Roosevelt after the attack on Pearl Harbor and compare that to Bush’s post 9/11 rhetoric.

Chapter Seven: ‘America Held Hostage’

This chapter will analyse the presidential rhetoric of Carter during the siege of the US Embassy in Iran and compare that to Bush’s post 9/11 rhetoric.

Chapter Eight: ‘The Awful Oval Address’

This chapter will begin with an overarching picture of the terrorist atrocities and some of the ways this may have affected how the American public viewed themselves and their place in the world. It will be argued that by the evening of September 11, 2001, Bush obtained unprecedented political capital due to the nature of the ‘rhetorical situation’ (Bitzer, 1968). This situation ensured the ‘rhetoric of otherness’ (Otto, 1973) would be influential in defining the discourse through which the American public would understand their role as patriotic Americans. When referring to the American public in this way, it is used to signify the majority of the American people who accept the precepts through which President Bush interprets the events of September 11, 2001.

Chapter Nine: Presidential Rhetoric & Constructions of Otherness

This chapter will bring together the themes uncovered by the analyses of Wilson, Roosevelt and Carter and Bush's presidential rhetoric after unique attacks. It will construct a table highlighting the themes and expand on their significance for appreciating *why* and *how* the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has the capacity to be utilized under specific circumstances.

Thesis Conclusion:

This chapter will summarize the various ways Bush and the different presidents used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) after unique attacks, and what factors influenced that ability. This will highlight the need for carrying out this type of analysis on presidential rhetoric and equally reveal a nuanced understanding of the different levels of meaning being delivered during Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. It will conclude by examining the validity of the proposition underpinning this thesis and articulating the knowledge this thesis adds to the field of *presidential* rhetoric.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter will examine the different areas of scholarly research previously conducted within the discipline of Presidential Rhetoric which includes the disciplines of *rhetorical presidency* and *presidential rhetoric*⁸. The examination of academic work highlights the value of analysing Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric and the way in which it will add knowledge within the field of *presidential rhetoric*. This will be achieved by differentiating this work from the key scholarly work in the field of Presidential Rhetoric, by identifying the relevance of this research within the discipline, and by elucidating on the scholarly work supporting material concepts within this thesis.

Presidential rhetoric is widely researched, but despite this there has been surprisingly little research conducted which concentrates on the way in which President George W. Bush used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) in the immediate aftermath of September 11, 2001. The work that has been carried out has tended to concentrate on a specific genre of presidential speech or the rhetoric depicting a particular topic and connecting this to a policy outcome. Various scholars including Bostdorff (2003), Gunn (2004), Zarefsky (2004), Campbell and Jamieson (2008); Beasley (2004); and Stuckey (2010)

⁸ When talking about the discipline of presidential rhetoric and the rhetorical presidency emphasis will be added by placing them in italics, thus differentiating the discipline from the investigation.

have scrutinized Bush's language post 9/11, but the work to date has not represented an area of focus or the same detailed analysis that this thesis achieves. This thesis examines presidential rhetoric within the contextual understanding of the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) from which it emanates and the historical era during which it occurs.

The chapter commences by elucidating upon the epistemological grounds on which Presidential Rhetoric has been established. Areas of research within the field are generally organized either within the *rhetorical presidency* or *presidential rhetoric*, these areas of study will be defined, which will highlight the reasons for positioning this within the discipline of *presidential rhetoric*. This will also illustrate the principal theories that underpin the discipline and the key debates within that arena. Seminal works, key scholars and relevant areas of research in Presidential Rhetoric will be identified and considered, thus enabling the value and pertinence of this thesis to be reflected in relation to that which is already available and to demonstrate how this thesis will add to the knowledge of *presidential rhetoric*.

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC:

Rhetorical Presidency:

The discipline of Presidential Rhetoric encompasses both *presidential rhetoric* and the *rhetorical presidency*; the latter developed initially from two seminal works, Corwin's (1957) *The President: Office and Powers* and Rossiter's (1960)⁹ *The American Presidency*. The academic enquiry under analysis was that of presidential powers (Corwin) and roles (Rossiter). Corwin (1957) analysed the office of the presidency by examining its constitutional and statutory powers, and Rossiter (1960) scrutinized the many roles played by every President, including Commander in Chief, Head of Party or even National Priest. Inherent in both Corwin (1957) and Rossiter's (1960) scholarly work was the notion that presidential leadership was best understood through an analysis or examination of the powers and roles of the office, rather than the way each President utilized the powers. It was that precept with which Neustadt (1960)¹⁰ took exception.

In 1960 Neustadt added his own seminal work to the discipline with

Presidential Power in which he contended that presidential leadership was

⁹ For contextual purposes it is worth noting, Clinton Rossiter's book *The American Presidency*, was first published in 1956, the 1960 version is the 2nd edition.

¹⁰ Neustadt, Richard (1960) *Presidential Power*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc. was the original version, and for the purposes of chronological sense, it is important to reference it in that way. However, the book was re-published in 1980, and 1990 with the original work untouched apart from grammatical corrections, but with additional chapters highlighting later presidential examples. It was the 1990 version that has been studied, and therefore when quoting from his work it is to that the reference will be given.

based on appreciating that the function of roles and powers as derived from the Constitution was manifested in the 'separation of powers'. Neustadt (1990) asserted that the 'power' of the President derived not from the function of power and roles, which act less as 'powers' and more as sources of influence or bargaining in a structure requiring compromise and negotiation to achieve goals. It was Neustadt (1990) who suggested each President's influence was dependent upon three factors: professional reputation, public prestige, and the available options. Presidential deeds that improve their professional reputation, public prestige and choices act like payments into a political savings account, unlike deeds that spend their political capital and which serve to complicate the practice of leadership.

Neustadt's (1960) concept was well received because it enabled presidential leadership to be considered in a way that was dynamic rather than fixed and formalized. Neustadt (1960) the originator of the concept that 'Presidential *power*' is 'the power to persuade' has been suggested by many leading academics in the field (Windt, 1984; Tulis, 1987; Beaseley, 2008; and Stuckey, 2004), to have transformed presidential research. Windt (1984: 24) argues that this concept moved the argument from that of a descriptive and historical perspective for examining the formal constitutional or statutory powers of the office, to one of 'president-as-persuader'. Windt states:

*The discipline of presidential rhetoric is concerned
with the study of a president's public persuasion
as it affects his abilities to exercise the powers of
his office. It draws from work by scholars in rhetoric*

and communication, political science, history, and other fields for the purpose of understanding how presidents succeed or fail in their uses of public persuasion.

(Windt, 1984: 24)

However, Smith and Smith (1994) comprehensively enumerate the pitfalls of an un-questioning reading of Neustadt. Firstly, they point to the era in which the book was published (1960) at a time when television was just beginning to adopt live news media, the significance of media will be highlighted in Chapter Four. 1960 was the first year to have televised presidential debates and prior to both the 'CNN effect' and a relentless 'celebrity culture'. The media interest in 'celebrity culture' Crowley and Heyer (1999) assert, was a contributory factor in diminishing the powers of the political parties. Smith and Smith (1994) do not consider 'celebrity culture', but Paglia (1999) and Postman (1999) both comment on the way that 'celebrity culture' naturally cultivated a new relationship between the media and the politicians. For example, observing relationships from a twenty-first century perspective it is difficult to imagine the media's acquiescence in concealing Roosevelt's physical disabilities. Quite possibly it was that very concealment, which enabled Roosevelt to derive and maintain public prestige.

Smith and Smith (1994) acknowledge a second deficiency in Neustadt's (1960) concept that other political scientists (Barber, 1985; Buchanan, 1987; Seligman Covington 1989; Edwards, 1983; Tulis 1987) had previously cited and therefore undertook research, which endeavoured to answer that area of

neglect. The weakness recognized by these academics was that Neustadt (1960) equated persuasion with bargaining or negotiation. Neustadt asserts:

The essence of a President's persuasive task is to convince such men [or women] that what the White House wants of them is what they ought to do for their sake and on their authority (Neustadt, 1990: 30).

The challenge made by these academics is that while the skill of persuasion is part of the bargaining or negotiating performance, it is not the sole tool used by either the White House or Congress. Negotiating or bargaining requires the willingness on either side to compromise and that may mean giving leeway on one issue to achieve another. Under such circumstances the President and/or Congress has done more than persuade, one side or both sides have yielded for agreement.

Barber (1985) endeavoured to answer the deficiencies in Neustadt's (1960) argument by examining presidential personal choices within an understanding of four personality types. Whilst the work is comprehensive in nature, it is reliant upon information gleaned from biographies of Presidents, which are not always objective characterizations of the individuals. Perhaps even more importantly, the result of this type of characterization is that it is deterministic and therefore more indicative of the way a President will generally act. This thesis however contends that personality types are not necessarily a decisive

insight for predicting presidential responses in times of great tragedy, crisis, or traumatic events.

Buchanan's (1979, 1987) first book predated Barber (1985), but Buchanan (1979) illustrated the variation of psychological pressures that the President experienced whilst undertaking different roles within the office. For example, the psychological pressures while carrying out the duties of Head of State differed depending upon whether it was the symbolic role or the negotiating role the President was undertaking. This research was developed further in Buchanan's (1987) book, in which he proposed an argument concerning the way Presidents, despite their personal characteristics and pressures experienced, conduct themselves when governing the country.

The premise of Buchanan's (1987) book was that public support for a President reduced the psychological pressures whatever the role and personality challenges. Buchanan states:

*A president is elevated, empowered, and
enlarged or diluted, drained, and reduced ...
[adding] ... according to the magnitude of public
support muster. ... [to the extent that] ... public
support is justly considered the enabling energy
of the presidency, the only consistently reliable
force available to the President for transcending
constitutional weakness and even personal limitation*

(Buchanan, 1987: 16).

This thesis contends that it was Neustadt (1960) who recognized the need for 'public support' in order to achieve public prestige. Buchanan (1987) echoes that, regarding it in a similar way to political strategists such as Karl Rove (see Chapter Four), who during the Bush era examined different constituencies within the electorate and calculated how each group evaluated the President's effectiveness in his job. The difficulty with this, is that it examines specific groups or constituencies and their perception of the President's effectiveness of governing. This is valuable information for determining what affects constituency voting strategies, but the President's ability to successfully govern is perhaps primarily achieved by building alliances within different branches of the government to facilitate legislative and statutory objectives.

Buchanan's (2008, 2010) most recent publications demonstrate further developments with regard to understanding the public's perceptions of the President and issues that affect those perceptions. Buchanan (2010: 1) insists the value of his research is founded on the concept that 'the people are... the ostensible *anchor* of the presidential accountability'. Moreover, he suggests that the trends in public opinion regarding the President's job effectiveness reflect the way in which Congress, the media and the Judiciary relate to the President during his term of office. This thesis while showing a correlation between the President, public opinion, and the media, will demonstrate the way presidential rhetoric after a unique attack is influenced

by the coeval media technology and the specific circumstances, which allow for particular meaning to be conveyed to the American people, thus affecting public perceptions. Therefore, this thesis is distinct from Buchanan (2008, 2010), which focuses on legislative outcomes and the President's accountability affecting successful governing.

The building of alliances for both electoral purposes and governing purposes was an area researched by Seligman and Covington (1989) who illustrate the various coalitions necessary for a President to be elected and remain in power. It is of interest within this research only because it describes the coalition the President needs to form with the media for both electoral opportunities and for efficient governing. Unfortunately, their work omits to acknowledge the necessity of Presidential persuasion in relation to building those changing coalitions within the transformation (electoral to governing) process (Smith and Smith 1994; Smith 1998)¹¹.

Edwards (1983) was especially concerned with the way Presidents utilized public relations approaches to encourage the public to heighten presidential authority within Congress. Edwards (1983) throughout his work has appreciated the correlation between the President's words, debates and discourses and his leadership. Edwards asserts:

Language is not only a vehicle for expressing ideas.

¹¹ Both references suggest Covington (1990), while delivering a paper reluctantly admitted the omission. See: Smith, Craig, Tulis, Jeffrey and Covington, Carey (1990) for the appropriate reference.

Words can also shape people's ideas by affecting what is expressed and how it is remembered, by evoking emotions, and by classifying objects of attention into categories that influence how they will be evaluated and what information will be relevant to them (1983: 65).

Twenty years later Edwards (2003: 23) remains convinced that Presidents use language for the purpose of '[partaking] in a prominent campaign for the public's support', and this has developed into the President's 'core strategy for governing'. Nevertheless, 'Presidents usually fail in their efforts to move the public to support them and their policies'. Edwards (2003: 26) concludes with the notion that mediated messages, including presidential rhetoric, have no measurable effect on public opinion regarding policy issues, however he makes the codicil that although people generally consider presidential rhetoric creates differences, 'very few studies focus directly on the effect of presidential leadership of opinion ...'. So, whilst Edwards obviously believes presidential rhetoric has the capacity to 'move' people as the 1983 quote demonstrates, all of his research has been approached from a politics based social scientific perspective in which causal relations between rhetoric and policy outcomes were calculated, thus resulting in findings that were unable to substantiate that belief. It is contended that what Edwards (2003) shares with the previously mentioned academics is that they want to 'prove', through social scientific methods, that language affects the ability of the institution of the Presidency to 'achieve' particular objectives. Instead perhaps it is time to

recognize that words and images can influence people's understanding and knowledge 'by affecting what is expressed and how it is remembered, by evoking emotions' (Edwards, 1983: 65) and on that point this thesis agrees with Edwards. This influence does not mean that 'the public' will demand that their Congressional member changes his/her voting for particular legislation as Edwards (2003) would want to try and identify. Arguably, it is far more subtle than that, but the words and images portrayed may allow the initiation of a discourse, particularly during times of trauma, to be framed in a manner that explains *why* something has happened and *how* people need to respond. For this to be recognized requires a close analysis of particular speeches delivered after specific events, with an analysis of the way in which presidential rhetoric has the capacity to influence the American public.

The works examined thus far are all examples from the branch of study recognized as *rhetorical presidency*, as distinguished from *presidential rhetoric*, the former being recognized and differentiated with publication in 1981 of *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 'The rise of the rhetorical Presidency', written by James Ceaser, Glenn Thurow, Jeffrey Tulis and Joseph M. Bessette¹², and followed subsequently in 1987 by Tulis' book *The Rhetorical Presidency*. The concept proposed:

The media and the modern presidency feed on each other. The media has found in the presidency a focal point on which to concentrate its peculiarly simplistic

¹² It is important to name all the authors as this was a seminal piece in the establishment of the *rhetorical presidency* as an area for research that required differentiation from *presidential rhetoric*.

and dramatic interpretation of events; and the presidency has found a vehicle in the media that allows it to win public attention. The reality, but more often the pretence, of enhanced power. What this two sided relationship signifies is a change in the rhetorical context in which the President now operates, the implications of which extend beyond the question of how much power the President has to the issue of how he attempts to govern (Ceaser, Thurow, Tulis, and Bessette, 1981: 12-13).

The argument put forward in that paper (and in Tulis's single authored book that followed in 1987, *The Rhetorical Presidency*) is that the very nature of the presidency has been the subject of transformation in responsibility and prominence from a constitutional, administrative role to an executive, rhetorical role. Ceaser et al. (1981) trace this change to three transforming variables: the contemporary concept of activist leadership in the presidency (Neustadt's (1960) concept); the changes in media technology, primarily television and mass media; and the contemporary presidential campaign. Research within the area of the *rhetorical presidency* therefore, is concerned with the influence, be it conceptual or practical, of rhetoric on the character and administration of the office (Ceaser et al., 1981; Tulis, 1987).

Hart (1984) like Buchanan (1978) before him believed the presidential experience influenced the way in which Presidents used presidential rhetoric. Hart (1984) used data analysis to examine presidential language with pre-

presidential, campaign language and post-presidential language; he then went on to compare presidential language with religious leaders, corporate executives, political candidates and social activists. The analysis enabled Hart (1984) to demonstrate that presidential language becomes more explicit and circumspect upon inauguration as Presidents abandon the dramatic self-confidence of all-encompassing generalities appropriate during campaigns. He was further able to conclude that presidential language is less contentious and categorical than social activists, more abstruse than corporate executives, but less so than religious leaders. In Hart's (1984) research the way of illustrating commonalities was to focus on pre/post presidential roles and compare them to other occupations.

Hart's later work, *The Sound of Leadership* was described most eloquently by the author's own words:

*this book is really not based so much on what
the [P]residents said as on why they said what
they said when and where they said it. The
research supporting claims made here has
dealt with speech acts, not with messages
per se (Hart, 1987: XX).*

Hart's (1987) personal description delineates the difference between his work and this thesis which is unashamedly concerned with the message. However, this thesis also considers it important to recognize the 'why and where they

said it' (Hart, 1987), for without that understanding the message may be easily misunderstood or lost. Interestingly, Campbell and Jamieson (2008)¹³ echoed this type of research in which they examined speech acts to substantiate the validity of presidential roles from which the speech was delivered.

Campbell and Jamieson (2008: 12) acknowledge the significance of Hart's influence on their work suggesting: 'The connective tissue is performance of the role of president in a situationally appropriate fashion'. Campbell and Jamieson (2008) specifically look at Bush's immediate responses to the terrorist atrocities of September 11, 2001 and classify the responses as 'national eulogy genre'. They argue that when national eulogy responses are effectively carried out the President assumes the mantle of national 'priest' or 'pastor'. Campbell and Jamieson suggest:

The moment create[d] by the events ... is a powerful invitation to presidential response because the calamitous deaths threaten our sense of ourselves as a nation, and that threat is heightened because the public experiences it collectively. ... in the national eulogy the president assumes the right to define for the country the meaning of the catastrophe and to assuage the associated trauma
(Campbell and Jamieson, 2008: 76-77).

¹³ Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs and Jamieson, Kathleen Hall (2008) *Presidents Creating the Presidency*, Chicago, Chicago University Press: The first edition of this book was published in 1990, University of Chicago Press; the book was 'revamped' and a chapter on National Eulogies was added to the 2008 edition.

This example, particularly as it examines the same speeches with which this thesis is concerned, highlights the difference between research undertaken within *rhetorical presidency* (Campbell and Jamieson, 2008) and *presidential rhetoric* (this thesis). Campbell and Jamieson (2008) assert that the rhetorical nature of the presidential role enabled Bush to adopt the 'priestly' role within the setting of the American National Cathedral for the purpose of comforting the American public and defining *what* the atrocities meant. The quote above clearly identifies the fact that Bush post 9/11 needed to use his presidential rhetoric for the purpose of explaining *why* the attacks occurred and *how* the American public needed to respond, which is the contention of this thesis. Nonetheless, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) neglect to explain the specific way Bush employed religious connotations, and the array of rhetorical devices used across the initial speeches. Instead, Campbell and Jamieson (2008: 94) highlight the necessity of the President to adopt language that suits the role, arguing: 'In his role as priest, he can declare war on evil; in his role as commander in chief, he can declare war on terror'. They assert that Bush used religious language like a priest, because the traumatic nature of the event required a priestly role to bring the country together.

The crucial point here, is that Campbell and Jamieson (2008) while suggesting similar ideas to this research, fail to indicate exactly what type of language is being used. This research indicates it is the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). At the same time, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) fail to examine the possible interpretations available from the message. This research analyses the way American myths are used within the message to deliver particular

understandings to various American and international audiences. It is argued that *rhetorical presidency* academics generally utilize examples of presidential language as a means for reflecting the roles the President assumes to promote persuasive rhetoric. This research differentiates and analyses such language with a more specific focus.

Throughout the Bush comparison case study Campbell and Jamieson (2008)¹⁴ substantiate their conclusions by quoting the improvement of presidential performance approval statistics, arguing that each President achieved better public performance approval ratings after delivering effective 'national eulogy' addresses. Interestingly however, they do this in all cases apart from Bush's post 9/11 speeches, arguably because they endeavour to link Bush's success in adopting the 'priestly role' to the 14th September 2001 Cathedral address. Campbell and Jamieson (2008) imply that prior to September 14, 2001 Bush had not achieved an appropriate countenance in order to fulfil the 'priestly role' despite utilizing the appropriate religious language. They are ambiguous about whether the 9/11 rhetoric is merely used as a building block¹⁵ for creating the 'priestly' role on the National Day of Prayer (14th) during the Cathedral address or whether it had already been achieved. This is corroborated by the fact that it is the only time they do not substantiate their conclusions regarding the successfulness of the national eulogy genre with performance approval ratings. Arguably, this is because

¹⁴ When considering the effectiveness of Bush post 9/11 'national eulogy' utterances, Campbell and Jamieson compare them favourably with Reagan after the *Challenger* explosion, and Clinton after the Oklahoma bombing. They also contrast it with Bush's poor performance highlighting the disparity between 'priestly role' and less than serious language.

¹⁵ This may be an example of what Cherwitz and Zagacki (1986) term 'consummatory crisis rhetoric' which will be discussed later in this chapter.

the ratings had already risen to 86% (Roper, 2012) on the 13th September, 2001, thus the figures may be interpreted as evidence that Bush had begun to assuage the American public before adopting a 'priestly' role. It is the contention in this thesis that the performance approval ratings reveal the success of Bush's 9/11 evening address, which was replete with American myths, which enabled the American public to begin to understand their required response. A justification for this argument is made in Chapter Four and Chapter Eight.

Stuckey (2010) describes the discipline of the *rhetorical presidency* as more than anything a debate about the institution of the American presidency. Stuckey (2010) goes so far as to suggest that even scholars that scrutinize presidential rhetoric, rather than endeavouring to develop the concept of the rhetorical presidency, do so with an appreciation of the challenges, requirements and scope afforded by the executive branch of government as an institution. As the literature testifies, Campbell and Jamieson (2008) advanced knowledge about the genres of presidential rhetoric, while Edwards (1989) and Stuckey et al. (2008) presented insights on presidential relations with Congress. Additionally Edwards & Gallup (1990), Beasley et al. (2008) and Hogan et al. (2008) developed awareness about the relationship between the President, Congress and the American people. Bostdorff (1994) and Bostdorff et al. (2008) expanded the knowledge on how Presidents may be expected to respond to crisis, and this will be examined shortly. The commonality in the research these academics produce is the overarching concern to link it to the institutional place of the presidency. Their different

approaches for examining presidential rhetoric are contingent upon the individual academic's understanding of an explicit type of relationship between 'argumentation and constitution' (Stuckey, 2010: 40), the following illustrates some novel approaches.

Lim (2002, 2008) employs computer content analysis software of presidential speeches over the last 200 years to argue that there has been an institutional transformation in the rhetorical dimension of the presidency. However, in doing so Lim (2002: 1) examines only Inaugural and State of the Union addresses, concluding that presidential rhetoric has changed in so far as it is: 'more anti-intellectual, more abstract, more assertive, more democratic and more conversational'. The difficulty in accepting Lim's (2002, 2008) conclusions arises from the fact that the results may be valid, but they fail to appreciate or take into account the coeval historical events and historical era in which the speeches were uttered. Instead, Lim (2002), Hart (1987), and Jamieson (1988) concur that it may be more favourable for the US President to have less media exposure and for presidential rhetoric to be more deliberative. Ignoring momentarily the 'Rose Garden Rubbish'¹⁶, Schlesinger (2008), and Nelson (2010) assert that the number of presidential planned speeches is virtually unchanged over the last half of the twentieth century.

¹⁶ 'Rose Garden rubbish' was a term coined during Lyndon B. Johnson's term of office and simply means the great number of minor or incidental speeches Presidents deliver due to mass media coverage. It is described fully in Chapter Four.

This view of the presidency is not without its critics, for example Ellis (1998) and Laracey (2002) describe a presidency that has always been rhetorical and consequently contend that the historical model Caesar et al. (1981) and Tulis (1987) put forward requires modification. Nichols (1994) has been more categorical, suggesting Caesar et al. (1981) and Tulis (1987) simply misread their constitutional history.

Scholars of presidential politics have for many decades complained about the degenerating quality of presidential discourse which has been variously described as: 'a linguistic struggle' (Miller, 2001: 14) when referring to the Bush Jr.; 'rarely an occasion for original thought' (Schlesinger, 1965: VI) referring to presidential Inaugural Addresses; on the margins of 'demagogy' (Caesar, 1985: 32) referring to presidential campaign rhetoric; and 'pontification cum anecdotalism' (Hart, 1987: 195) referring to contemporary presidential rhetoric. Lim (2002) asserts these descriptions are often shared by political scientists writing about a group of associated developments in the modern presidency. For example, various notions regarding the 'rhetorical presidency' (Caesar et al., 1981; Tulis, 1987), the 'public presidency' (Edwards, 1983), and 'going public' (Kernell, 1997) all point to the concept of using rhetoric as a strategy of presidential leadership.

The agreement among these groups of scholars is the recognition that the institution of the presidency has changed over time; the exact timing, either at the turn of the twentieth century or later with the introduction of mass media,

remains a point of contention between the scholars. Lim describes the way these scholars view the changing nature of the presidency:

*from a traditional, administrative, and unrhetorical
office, into a modern, expansive, and strictly
rhetorical one in which incumbents routinely speak
over the head of Congress and to the public to
lead and to govern (Lim, 2002: 329).*

There is another group of scholars arguing that there is far greater continuity and progression, rather than transformation, throughout the history of presidential rhetoric and its historical potentiality (Lim, 2002)¹⁷. For example, Smith and Smith (1985: 749) indicate that presidential speeches have ‘exhibited an unusually concordant value system’. Hinckley (1990: 133) describes a ‘striking similarity’ in the use of symbols throughout the history of presidential rhetoric, while Hoffman (2010: 78) highlights ‘significant continuity’ across the various presidencies. These ideas are further corroborated by academics working in political literature, political culture, and public philosophy: see (Denton, 1982; Devine, 1972; Lipset, 1979; Bellah, 1975).

The difference between these groups is telling, generally scholars aligning themselves with a rhetorical transformation of the presidency are political scientists emerging from the theory-focused *rhetorical presidency* school of scholarship. Alternatively, the scholars arguing for continuity or general

¹⁷ Lim (2002) is most useful for summing up the arguments between the scholarship of the *rhetorical presidency* and *presidential rhetoric*.

progression are generally scholars of rhetoric and communication coming from the *presidential rhetoric* school of scholarship. The political scientists are concerned with the 'underlying doctrines of government' rather than the actual content of the speeches, which are considered 'reflections' of these doctrines (Tulis, 1987: 13), while the communication scholars are concerned with the 'study of political language' (Windt, 1986, 112) and 'the principles and practices of rhetoric' (Medhurst, 1996: XIV). It is to the speech and communication school that this thesis belongs, and the following is an examination of the literature already available in the area and the value of this new research.

Presidential Rhetoric:

The distinction of scholarly literature may at times be ambiguous regarding its categorization within the disciplines of *rhetorical presidency* and *presidential rhetoric*, this work without doubt belongs within the discipline of *presidential rhetoric*. Stuckey (2010) argues implicitly that changing technology has played a significant role in the transformation of the rhetorical presidency. This is significant because while academics within the field of the *rhetorical presidency* often cite similar factors supporting the need for their research, it also becomes more evident that changing technologies usher in the need for *presidential rhetoric* research. For example, what stands at the heart of Ceaser et al.'s (1981) argument is that the changing cultural factors within

society created a situation that undermined the constitutional 'checks and balances' (Stuckey, 2010). Arguably, Windt was even more condemnatory:

Congress now serves principally as a legislative check on the presidency, and media news – primarily television – functions as a rhetorical check on presidential pronouncements. Regardless of whether we think this relationship is proper or improper, valuable or dangerous, this rhetorical relationship is the new reality of checks and balances in American government (Windt, 1984:32).

This thesis is not analysing or investigating the constitutional equity of the presidential office, nevertheless it supports the idea that media technology has played a significant role in the volume and nature of presidential rhetoric. The position taken here is that the emergence of new media technology is but one piece of the jigsaw puzzle for understanding presidential rhetoric and is important because it affords new and different opportunities for presidential rhetoric to be heard and witnessed by the American public. The various ideas considered for analysing presidential rhetoric within this thesis will be illustrated shortly, and the justification for moving towards the analytical approach of the rhetorical critic will be described in Chapter Two.

In the 1980s, speech and communication academics started to identify and articulate *presidential rhetoric* as a distinct area within the broader field of

rhetorical studies. Indeed, Windt (1984) specified four areas of research available for communication scholars within the field of *presidential rhetoric*:

Studies in presidential rhetoric are primarily critical and fall into four categories: criticism of single speeches, criticism of rhetorical movements by presidents, development and criticism of genres of speeches, and miscellaneous articles on various ancillary topics (Windt, 1984: 26).

Windt (1984) argued that the single speech requires analysis because the significance of the office of President means that it is different from other deliberative rhetorical acts purely because of the status of the office and needs to be analysed as such. Rhetorical movements to construct constituencies, to achieve statutory legislation, to marshal defences in opposition to events, Windt (1984) suggests furnish a broader remit to the concept of *presidential rhetoric* than the other critical analyses. Windt (1984) suggests the primary contribution from miscellaneous studies 'lies in the background information they provide for the analysis and evaluation of how a president uses rhetoric to exercise power', which harps back to *rhetorical presidency* studies. This thesis contends that understanding the way in which presidential language may be utilized to convey meaning is dependent upon several factors. These factors derive from the 'rhetorical situation' Bitzer (1968) and the historical era and coeval media technology in which that situation transpires.

The theoretical progress within *presidential rhetoric* came about according to Medhurst (2008), with Zarefsky's (1989) work. Medhurst (2008) describes its significance:

In 1989, David Zarefsky announced the conceptual breakthrough that allowed scholars of speech and rhetoric to break away from an analytical approach that had characterized the field for most of its existence. Zarefsky wrote: To start with, we have enlarged the meaning of 'public address' from a mode to a function of discourse. It seems self-evident that any rhetorical act is 'addressed' and hence evokes a 'public' ... By embracing a broader conception of public address and not reducing the term to formal oratory, our studies have enhanced the potential for understanding historical or rhetorical situations and for formulating theoretical generalizations (Zarefsky 1989: 15-16; also cited in Medhurst, 2008a: 4).

This quote originates from Zarefsky (1989) 'The State of Art in Public Address Scholarship', which was delivered at a symposium. However, Medhurst (2008a) modestly fails to take credit for his role in that symposium which resulted in them both having their ideas published in *Texts in Context*¹⁸. Medhurst and Zarefsky have played a long and influential role in the scholarship of *presidential rhetoric* and it is the combination of their work which has influenced the way this thesis has moved towards an analytical

¹⁸ See Medhurst, Martin J (1989) 'Public Address and Significant Scholarship: Four Challenges to the Rhetorical Renaissance' in that volume.

approach. Medhurst (2008a) charts the growth of studies within the discipline of *presidential rhetoric*, which has always supported a wide and varied interdisciplinary scholarship. This scholarship emerges within the fields of history, law, journalism, religious studies, English, communication and political science thus revealing an array of diversity both within each field and between the various fields (Ibid). However, Medhurst (2008a) asserts it was not until the mid to late 1980s that academic research examining presidential rhetoric expanded significantly, which may have been the product of the speech and communication departments that were designed and developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The style of this thesis is following other notable academics within the field of *presidential rhetoric* and rhetorical studies who concentrate their research on anything from one speech to a dozen speeches, for example Zarefsky (1986, 1993) who focused on Johnson's 'war on poverty', and Lincoln and Douglas' slavery debates; Wills (1992) who wrote about Lincoln's Gettysburg Address; Holzer (2004) who examined Lincoln at Cooper's Union; and more recently Clarke (2008, 2010) who researched both Bobby Kennedy's eighty days of campaigning, singling out specific speeches, and John F Kennedy's Inaugural Address. Aside from that the interest in select addresses continues with Ambar (2012) who is publishing shortly an entire book on one speech, Malcolm X's speech at Oxford University¹⁹. Indeed Wills' (1992) work on Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was noted by Holzer (2004), Clark (2008) and

¹⁹ This may appear ambiguous as Amber, Saladin M (2012) has also published an article of the same name, and is also delivering a paper with the same name at the American Politics Group in 2012, but it is the book to which the reference applies.

Ambar (2012) as inspirational in their appreciation on locating speeches within the context of their time, what this thesis describes as the historical era.

These authors illustrate the value of carrying out research which reveals a better understanding of an event, and the deeper trends and transformations within American society available from research analysing the words in response to that event. Before elucidating upon the value of this thesis within such a diverse and varied field of study it is necessary to distinguish it from academics who are also concerned with Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric or the previous Presidents examined within this thesis.

This thesis acknowledges the variety and diversity within the field of *presidential rhetoric* and therefore concentrates on differentiating this work from similar scholarly work which has gone before. In 1984 Cherwitz and Zagacki examined presidential rhetoric immediately after crises, comparing rhetoric that was the sole response of the government to the crisis (consummatory rhetoric) with rhetoric that was accompanying, justifying and rationalizing military moves in response to the crisis (justificatory rhetoric). The investigation was used to illustrate the differences of *strategy* and *tactic* between these two types of rhetorical responses; interestingly while some of the same speeches will be examined in this research²⁰ the findings are not comparable as they derive from dissimilar ways for interpreting the various speeches.

²⁰ Carter's presidential rhetoric after the Iran hostage siege is also analysed for this thesis.

Cherwitz and Zagacki (1986) adopted an approach that Zarefsky (2004) describes as the 'black box' rhetorical analysis. Zarefsky (2004) insists the 'black box' approach constructs an analysis utilizing only the language of the presidential utterances and without consideration for historical circumstance, presidential choices, or any other influences. The difficulty in comparing Cherwitz and Zagacki (1986) with any of the former presidential language examined in this research is that the method for examining them derives from different analytical suppositions. This thesis considers it to be a fundamental imperative to incorporate an appreciation of the historical circumstances surrounding the presidential rhetoric as a vital part of the analysis.

Beasley (2004), a communication scholar analyses the significance of the Inaugural Address and the State of the Union Messages in discovering the way American Presidents influence American national identity by utilizing specific presidential rhetoric from 1885 – 2000. What Beasley (2004) neglects to clarify is the distinctive type of rhetorical critic's work she undertakes. Zarefsky (2004) distinguishes three types of approaches under the aegis of rhetorical critic: the 'empirical', the 'historical' and the 'literary'. Beasley (2004) accepting Zarefsky's (2004) definition is using an 'historical'²¹ rhetorical critic's approach. Important, because it exemplifies the feasibility of the project in relation to the vast time scale and number of speeches analysed. Beasley's (2004) work is questioning the types of language used by Presidents endeavouring to promote a 'national identity' in the Inaugural and State of the

²¹ Zarefsky (2004: 608-609) describes this approach: 'the rhetor (speaker or writer) makes choices, with an audience in mind, about the best way to achieve his or her goals in the context of a specific situation'.

Union Addresses. This is unlike the work of Zarefsky (1986) and Medhurst (1993), who employ a 'literary' approach when scrutinizing single President's rhetoric (L.B. Johnson and Eisenhower respectively) and this work, which focuses on Bush's immediate post 9/11 rhetoric with specific comparative analysis of previous presidential rhetoric.

A belief that this work shares with Beasley is that: 'for there to be an American nation, an American 'we' or even an American presidency at all, U.S. Presidents must find ways of breathing life into the otherwise abstract notion of American political community' (Beasley, 2004: 10). Beasley (2004) argues that the President utilizes the State of the Union and the Inaugural Addresses for the purpose of instilling a very diverse nation with a sense of national unity. Her informative research indeed illustrates the recurring themes, symbols, language used by Presidents across the twentieth century for that very purpose. However, this thesis will demonstrate the significance of presidential rhetoric during the immediate aftermath of a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) for ensuring the American public understand the *why* and *how* exposition. Interestingly, Beasley (2004) specifically excludes Roosevelt's 1942 State of the Union Address from her study because the unique atrocity of Pearl Harbor, she argues, provides the American people with the 'we' factor. It will be argued that the atrocity or trauma of the event requires someone respected (under these circumstances it is institution of the presidency, respected by the American public, whatever their feelings regarding the particular President at the time) to harness the fear, anxiety and shock of the nation such that the populace reacts with the 'we' voice. This

thesis maintains that without effective presidential rhetoric, traumatic events may actually cause the diverse American public to retreat into 'safe' heterogeneous groups and thereby create disunity within its population. That for example, was the concern of Wilson after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*, see Chapter Five.

The primary focus of this thesis however, is Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. Gunn (2004) in 'The Rhetoric of Exorcism: George W. Bush and the Return of Political Demonology' and Bostdorff (2003) in 'George W. Bush's Post-September 11 Rhetoric of Covenant Renewal: Upholding the Faith of the Greatest Generation' argue, as this thesis does, that Bush used presidential language replete with religious connotations in his post 9/11 rhetoric. The work of Gunn (2004) is fascinating and while often referring to similar passages of Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric and his references to the 'demonic' other, it is carried out from a very different precept. Gunn (2004) argues that the collapsing of the twin towers and the apparent 'smoke-demon' image which was disseminated across the media had a persuasive capability. It was a means for corroborating Evangelical Protestant notions that 'the current seat of Satan's power' existed in American financial organizations and with the demise of the World Trade Center was the precursor for the end of time (Ibid).



Figure 1 'Smoke Demon'²²

Gunn's (2004) argument is based on the concept that the event of 9/11 and the imagery that transpired from that event, enabled speech writers to utilize the genres of Exorcism and Conversion when constructing Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. However, interestingly that precept is derived from an understanding that the demonic 'other' that Bush used regularly in his post 9/11 rhetoric comes from within and it is only by exorcising it from within that the demonic 'other' is purged. Alternatively, this thesis was developed from an understanding that to know or understand 'your own identity you have to know what you are not' (Glasson, 2011) which situates the 'other' existentially. In the context of this thesis it is the American social identity that is being referred to, but the ideological viewpoint remains relevant. Consequently, although Gunn (2004) attributes Bush's post 9/11 language to a 'demonic' or 'evil other', it is done within a different context, and used to present very different arguments. Gunn (2004) utilizes the examples from Bush's rhetoric to

²² 'Smoke-demon' image available on numerous sites this was retrieved from: *Christian Media*. <http://www.christianmedia.us/devil-face.html> [accessed 13 December 2011]. Interestingly, the web page depicts numerous demons apparently visible within the smoke from the collapsing of the twin towers.

demonstrate the usefulness and purpose of genres (Exorcism and Conversion) in the analyses of political discourse. This illustration demonstrates the way the same text has the ability within the discipline of *presidential rhetoric* to be examined from a vast array of approaches and fields of study.

Bostdorff (2003) like Gunn (2004), and this thesis, identifies religious metaphors within Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. However, unlike either Gunn (2004) or this thesis, Bostdorff's (2003) analysis is concerned with the 'rhetoric of covenant renewal', which originates from the Puritan jeremiad. Bostdorff (2003) uses the metaphors she highlights from the post 9/11 rhetoric to demonstrate how Bush was calling the American people, particularly the younger generation (similarly to the way the covenant of renewal was used to reach the second and third generation Puritans to bring them back into church) to become more community minded. Arguably, Bostdorff (2003) is endeavouring to illustrate Bush's 'covenant of renewal' from a communitarian perspective, and rather than as a patriotic discourse. Interestingly, Bostdorff (2003) only sparingly, and then only implicitly, implies that Bush's religious connotations refer to the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973), and also there is no reference made to the significance of American myths and their heritage from the Puritan jeremiad.

Indeed on a number of other issues Bostdorff's (2003) work is dissimilar to this thesis: it negates to clarify the significance of the media in enabling people all

around the world to experience the attacks within their homes; it negates to explain the importance of the media in augmenting the rhetorical presidency on the evening of 9/11; it negates to compare Bush's rhetoric with that of any other President after a foreign attack on Americans. It is similar to Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) findings in so much as Bostdorff (2003) relates the successfulness of the rhetoric to the ceremonial role from which Bush was speaking, although Bostdorff (2003) does not label the role as priest or pastor. Another similarity between her work and Campbell and Jamieson's (2008) is the lack of consistency in quoting performance approval ratings to substantiate their interpretations regarding Bush's rhetorical ability.

Bush's post September 11, 2001 discourse:

There are other leading scholars that have focused work on Bush's post 9/11 speeches and the wider 'war on terror' discourse (Jackson, 2005) and 'war rhetoric' (Ivie, 2007). Jackson (2005) and Ivie (2007) examine similar speeches and Ivie concentrates on the religious metaphors within the speeches. However their respective works adopt a far wider scope of analysis examining utterances across the Bush Administration and the way these were validated within different areas of society. Their work focuses on the way in which the 'war on terror' and 'war rhetoric' respectively, was used for the purposes of reifying American exceptionalism and thereby dissuading dissent among the American public. Ivie's (2007) ideas will be expanded upon shortly. However, Jackson's (2005) work will be expanded upon in the

following chapter as the principle difference between the research is the methodological stance from which we have delivered our analyses.

Robert Ivie (2007) delivers a valuable reading of the way 'war rhetoric' containing constructions of otherness has been utilized to disenfranchise anti-war protesters. His analysis demonstrates that anti-war protestors need to use less contentious language rather than reverting to an ascription of 'good' and 'evil' which has the capacity to be regained by the narratives of political leaders or as Eisenach (2000) refers to them, 'political theologians'. Ivie (2007) read alongside the works of Bostdorf (2004), Campbell and Jamieson (2009), Stuckey (2010), who have been expanded upon previously, demonstrates that throughout history 'war rhetoric' has been utilized through constructions 'Othering' the enemy. This has been achieved through imagery signifying the enemy as 'beasts', 'savages' and 'evil' and often within the myth of the Chosen Nation and the Innocent Nation which reify American exceptionalism. The construction of the Other Ivie asserts:

*has been the trope basic to American justifications
of war from declaring Independence to fighting terrorism
and everything in between. It is the standard rhetorical
move that rationalizes war and quiets, but never fully
settles a troubled conscience (Ivie, 2007: 49).*

Ivie (2007) argues that by perpetuating constructions of the other the language reviles and debases the enemy. At the same time this dichotomy

defines the 'good' patriotic American and thus any 'other' behaviour is un-American. He goes on to suggest that 'war rhetoric' has been used in such circumstances to transform society's fears outwards onto an 'evil other' and subscribe to a militarized homogeneous national identity. This thesis would agree with Ivie's (2007) notion of the way in which 'otherness' works at different levels of meaning and promotes patriotic behaviour and reifies American Exceptionalism (see Chapter Three). Ivie (2007) neglects to acknowledge that constructions of otherness have not always been used for the purpose of 'war rhetoric'. Indeed, Ivie (2007) refers to wars that were averted only because leaders chose to adopt a discourse that did not include dehumanizing (otherness) inferences. The analysis of this thesis contradicts that assertion by illustrating the rhetorical situation required for the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to have value.

For example the 1993 World Trade Center bombing did not result in what Ivie (2007) refers to as 'war rhetoric' or as it may more accurately be classified the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Ivie's (2007) proposition suggests that the presidential rhetoric resulting from that attack lacked constructions of otherness and hence 'war rhetoric', because Clinton had decided not to utilize that language. It could be argued that the reason for a lack of 'othering' within that presidential rhetoric was due to the political, social and cultural sensitivities of that period (national and international). This thesis suggests that Clinton's (1993) first utterances after the attack were neither dehumanizing nor a call to arms, and the reason for that was that the exigencies of the rhetorical situation did not allow for such language. Otto

(1973) proposes that for the 'rhetoric of otherness' to hold sway necessitates a situation in which people experience all the emotions of total incredulity, demonic dread and miraculous wonderment.

The 1993 World Trade Center bombing did not fulfil Otto's criteria in any number of ways combined with the fact that the wider public, local and global, had not experienced the traumatic nature of the event. Consequently the exigencies of the situation enabled Clinton to deliver his speech the following day via a radio message. The time delay and environment in which the speech was delivered signify that his presidential rhetoric did not require the mythical imagery of the President or the Oval Office as a means for representing patriarchal security. Clinton stated:

*I thank all the people who reached out to the injured
and the frightened amid the tumult that shook
Manhattan. ... Working together [FBI, Security Services
and Police] we'll find out who was involved and why
this happened (Clinton, 1993).*

Clinton's (1993) rhetoric was categorical, 'who (the person) involved and why it happened' was to be decided by security specialist. Indeed, it could be suggested that Clinton was minimizing the character of the 'tragedy' as Clinton referred to it, which was tantamount to describing it as an accident. The example of Clinton's post 1993 World Trade Center bombing rhetoric illustrates that for presidential rhetoric to utilize effectively the 'rhetoric of

otherness' the situation has to be of such severity and magnitude as to meet Otto's (1973) criteria. The rhetorical critic approach adopted for analysing the presidential rhetoric of Wilson, Roosevelt, Carter and comparing that to Bush after 9/11 achieves a nuanced understanding of *why* and *how* the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has been used most effectively.

The contention of this thesis is that the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) possesses real value only when the rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1968) creates a sense of complete incredulity, demonic dread and miraculous wonderment. On September 11, 2001 the demands of that rhetorical situation created the scenario for the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to furnish an understanding of *why* 9/11 occurred and *how* Americans needed to respond as 'good' Americans. Chapter Five and Chapter Seven demonstrate that the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has been utilized through religious myths to define the boundaries for the patriotic discourse and this has not always resulted in reifying American exceptionalism. These chapters emphasize the value of adopting the rhetorical critic approach for analysis as they reveal that the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has not always been used to furnish 'war rhetoric' (Ivie, 2007).

Ivie (2007) when examining Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric conflates the 'war rhetoric' and the 'rhetoric of otherness' and the argument within this thesis suggests that prior to Bush delineating policy (war rhetoric), there was a necessity to define the boundaries for understanding the *why* and *how*

exposition (patriotic discourse), which was achieved through the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Indeed where this thesis and Ivie (2007) differ is that Ivie uses the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to substantiate his argument that it inhibits anti-war dissent, and this thesis argues that the 'rhetoric of otherness' is not always used for 'war rhetoric' therefore it inhibits whatever is being defined as 'un-American' behaviour.

Gentile (2008) alternatively examines the way religious language was used by the Bush government throughout it's 'War on Terror' and the way in which it was transformed. In the immediate aftermath of 9/11 Bush was using religious myths for answering the *why* and *how* exposition. Arguably as a uniting patriotic discourse for uniting the American public. The difficulty began when the religious language was utilized for partisan purposes. What transpired by 2004 was a government defining patriotism for the purposes of political patriotism. Gentile asserts:

This war was fought by the Religious Right and the Republican Party to assert their own principles and values in society and politics as those of the religious and patriotic 'true American,' who was fighting evil which, internally and externally, aimed at destroying God's democracy (Gentile, 2008: 143).

The significance of this quote lies in the way Bush transformed his constructions of otherness to be waged against the Democratic Party and all

Americans who supported them for the 2004 Presidential Election. This illustrates the significance of the rhetorical situation and understanding the demands of the situation when analysing critically, presidential rhetoric. Bush by that stage was targeting his rhetoric at dividing American society for safeguarding his personal position, rather than uniting them against an external 'other'.

THESIS VALUE:

Throughout this synopsis of the available and relevant *rhetorical presidency* and *presidential rhetoric* literature, various aspects of the unique nature of this thesis have been identified. It is useful however, to signify the way this research will add unique and valuable knowledge to the field of presidential rhetoric. At the heart of this research is the rhetorical situation, September 11, 2001 a seminal moment in world history, which was broadcast and therefore experienced 'live' by Americans throughout the United States of America. It will be demonstrated in this thesis that the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) of 9/11, endowed Bush the appropriate situation in which to utilize American myths and metaphors to signify the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). It is contended that Bush used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) for educating the American public about *why* the attacks occurred and *how* they needed to respond as 'good' Americans. This is referred to as the post 9/11 patriotic discourse. This research also illustrates the way in which the rhetorical nature of the presidency may be employed for the purpose of adding

credibility and reinforcing the way that presidential rhetoric is constructed to ensure greater authority. For example, on the evening of 9/11 when Bush delivered his address to the nation, it was done within an environment that reinforced the authority through which he spoke. The address was presented from the Oval Office, with Bush seated behind the *Resolute* Desk flanked by the American Flag and the Presidential Flag. The significance of the choreography and the mythical inferences within the Oval Office will be expanded upon in Chapter Eight. Arguably, Bush or Bush's advisors had chosen this backdrop to enhance his presidential rhetoric thus utilizing the rhetorical nature of the presidential office to add gravitas and command.

This research differs from previous works by examining the rhetorical event from an understanding of the cultural and historical period in which it occurred and analysing the presidential rhetoric that was used as a response. For example, the available media technology was instrumental after 9/11 in enabling the American public both to experience the full trauma of the event and to receive the presidential rhetorical performance. Presidential rhetoric encompasses the entire rhetorical performance and presidential speechwriters have an instrumental role in the construction and dissemination of that rhetoric (Medhurst, 2003; Nelson 2010; Schlesinger 2008). At the same time rhetoric can be understood in various ways by various audiences, therefore this thesis will examine possible interpretations available from the speeches under critical analysis. A similar analysis will also be employed examining previous presidential rhetoric after uniquely seminal moments to compare the way each President has, or has not, used American myths within the 'rhetoric of

otherness' (Otto, 1973). It is believed this thesis adds to knowledge within the field of *presidential rhetoric* by the comprehensive nature of the analysis of the rhetorical performance, the depth of deconstruction within the speeches, and a demonstrable appreciation of the cultural and historical period in which they were situated. The analytical approach of the rhetorical critic which is used within this thesis will be outlined in Chapter Two. Prior to an examination of the analytical approach it is necessary to establish the literature supporting some of the key terms upon which this thesis has been designed.

Presidential Crisis Rhetoric:

A simple reference to 9/11 and immediately the visual images of the disintegrating World Trade Center twin towers come to mind. The impact 9/11 made on people around the world, but specifically the American public, corresponds with Bitzer's (1968) definition of the 'rhetorical situation', and this will be expanded upon in the following section. Presidential crisis rhetoric often cites the requirement of a rhetorical event or situation that invites presidents to utilize their rhetoric for the purposes of educating the American public.

Presidential crisis rhetoric has an interesting definition which Theodore Windt (1983) elucidated and Dow (1989) and Kuypers (1997) re-iterated. Dow (1989) suggests that there are two different types of crisis rhetoric which are contingent upon the exigencies: communal understanding or policy approval.

Dow (1989: 306) in her conclusion asserts crisis rhetoric cannot be viewed as a homogeneous type of discourse; rather, it should be analysed in relation to the 'different exigencies it responds to and [the] different functions it performs'. Kuypers (1997) insists that when a president declares a crisis, the President demands his judgement be endorsed, not for discussions to ensue about the response. Windt (1983) argues that a crisis is a rhetorical conception of the executive office of government. This definition of crisis rhetoric is based on Windt's (1983: 63) idea that unless a crisis is a military attack on the United States soil (which although not 'military' in the old sense, corresponds to the 9/11 attack), it should be regarded as a political event 'rhetorically created by the president'. Accordingly, apart from a military attack (or something equivalent such as 9/11) it is the presidential remarks that create the crisis rather than the situation (Kuypers, 1997). Dow (1989) and Kuypers (1997) both summarize Windt's (1983) three points, as the criteria for distinguishing presidential crisis rhetoric from other presidential remarks. First, there is the essential statement of the incident. Second, there is the creation of a 'melodrama' between 'us' and 'them', or 'good' vs. 'evil'. Third, the policy declared by the president that requires endorsement is constructed as a moral act. These criteria differentiate this thesis from presidential crisis rhetoric as defined by Windt (1983).

At first glance Windt's (1983) criteria of crisis rhetoric appear to work within this analysis, however the concept is not relevant for various reasons. The first criterion is a 'statement of the incident'; Bush did not need to make a statement about the incident (although he did make a statement immediately

after the first of the twin towers was hit by a commercial airliner). In the case of 9/11, the attacks were broadcast 'live' such that the public were aware of the attacks before Bush addressed the nation. Secondly, there was no requirement for Bush to create a 'melodrama' between 'good' and 'evil', the public were using that type of language themselves prior to Bush's evening address from the Oval Office²³. Nevertheless Bush continually re-iterates the construction of otherness between 'good' and 'evil' as an effective means of differentiating the people who carried out the attacks (them) and good patriotic Americans (us). Thirdly, Bush in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 framed both *why* the attacks occurred and *how* Americans needed to respond arousing a moral righteousness perpetuated through American myths. Consequently, although Bush used the same type of language used by presidents imparting crisis rhetoric, the difference lies in the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968).

Rhetorical Situation:

Bitzer (1999: 218)²⁴ argues that a rhetorical situation exists when particular circumstances are understood within 'the context in which speakers or writers create discourse'. Bitzer states:

²³ See Chapter Eight in which the Researcher uses the example of a father talking to his son in Washington DC soon after the attack on the Pentagon.

²⁴ Bitzer (1999) upon quoting Bitzer it is to that source I reflect. However, this is the identical article re-printed in its entirety, which was first published in 1968. Bitzer, Lloyd (1968) 'The Rhetorical Situation' *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. Winter 1 (1) pp. 1-14. <http://O-web.ebscohost.com.library.edgehill.ac.uk> [accessed 15 June 2010]. Bitzer, Lloyd (1992) 'The Rhetorical Situation' *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. Supplement 1 pp. 1-14. (Re-publication of original 1968 journal article). <http://O-web.ebscohost.com.library.edgehill.ac.uk> [accessed 20 June 2010].

Rhetorical situation may be defined as a complex of persons, events, objects, and relation presenting and actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence. (Bitzer, 1999: 218)

Interestingly, Bitzer describes various events or actions for demonstrating the different types of situations, which require rhetoric. For example, the Inaugural Address is a particular situation which calls into existence a specific type of rhetorical discourse (Bitzer, 1968). For a very different type of situation Bitzer (1968) illustrates the example of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy as an event that calls a rhetorical discourse into existence. Nevertheless these examples highlight the fact that events or actions have different exigencies and therefore they require rhetoric that meets the requirements of the situation. Vatz insists Bitzer's argument:

is a fitting of a scene into a category or categories found in the head of the observer. No situation can have a nature independent of the perception of its interpreter or independent of the rhetoric with which he chooses to characterize it (Vatz, 1999: 226)²⁵.

Bitzer, Lloyd (1999) 'The Rhetorical Situation' In: Lucaites, John L., Condit, Michelle, and Caudill, Sally (eds.) *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory: A Reader*. London: The Guilford Press. (Re-publication of original 1968 journal article). All of the articles have been studied.

²⁵ Vatz, Richard originally published his critique of Bitzer in 1973. Vatz, Richard E. (1973) 'The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation' *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 6 (3) pp. 154-161. <http://0-web.ebscohost.com.library.edgehill.ac.uk> [accessed 08 August 2011].

To clarify, Vatz (1973) insists that events do not possess inherent and autonomous meaning. Indeed Derrida (2003) identifies the challenge for any event to have a permanent meaning. For example, after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 Bush's presidential rhetoric created a discourse that characterized the attacks as 'acts of terror' perpetrated by 'Evil'. Bitzer would argue that the attacks created an assortment of exigencies and therefore the requirements of presidential rhetoric were dependent upon which of the exigencies were being fulfilled.

Alternatively Vatz (1999: 228) asserts: '[it is] the interpretation given by a rhetor to an event that creates meaning, and not the event itself that has intrinsic meaning'. This interpretation has validity if crisis rhetoric, understood within Windt's (1983) theory that crisis rhetoric emerges from the rhetorical conception of the Executive Office was the focus of this thesis, but it is not. Instead, the critical analysis of this thesis is concerned with 9/11, 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) and the presidential rhetoric that emerged to meet the various demands from the atrocity. This thesis will be analysing the way Bush utilized the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) in arousing American religious identity for promoting patriotism, post 9/11. In that respect the thesis acknowledges that in meeting the demands of the situation Bush's personal

Vatz, Richard E. (1999) 'The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation' In: Lucaites, John L., Condit, Michelle, and Caudill, Sally (eds.) *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory: A Reader*. London: The Guilford Press. (Re-publication of original 1973 journal article). Vatz's original article was a seminal work within the field of Rhetoric. I have studied both publications but when quoting I will use the 1999 version.

interpretation of the event will have affected the rhetoric he utilized post 9/11. This illustrates the significance of applying Bitzer's (1968) concept of the 'rhetorical situation', however, the situation's meaning was defined by the media technology that captured the images, imagery and the unfolding of the atrocity before the eyes of the world.

Because 9/11 does not meet the criteria of Windt's (1983) definition of crisis rhetoric, the contention of this thesis is the actual event was not a political construct. Nevertheless, it was Bush who defined the boundaries for understanding the *why* and *how* exposition. In that respect this thesis would agree with Vatz (1973) that the rhetor's interpretation, in this context America's response to 9/11, was influenced by Bush's presidential rhetoric post 9/11.

The atrocities of 9/11 created numerous exigencies upon Bush's presidential rhetoric, and because of those differing demands this thesis differs from other scholars in that the analysis includes examples from various forms of rhetorical genre. By the very nature of conducting an analysis of post 9/11 presidential rhetoric it will be important to recognize the demands being fulfilled within the various rhetorical situations and that may be an indication of the value of any particular rhetoric delivered by Bush.

The principal feature being examined across all the various speeches is the way Bush implemented the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) as a way of arousing American religious identity. The thesis will uncover the circumstances which allowed Bush to use constructions of otherness and why it has been used in different ways across the century after unique attacks. It is only by also examining previous presidential rhetoric that this can be achieved. It was the magnitude and incredulity of 9/11 that enabled Bush to interpret and define 9/11 through the 'rhetoric of otherness' as Otto (1973) indicates, it (the 'rhetoric of otherness') is only of value when events create bewilderment, demonic dread, and miraculous wonderment. The analysis reveals these same criteria may require the 'rhetoric of otherness' to be used for alternative interpretations.

Rhetoric of Otherness:

Perhaps the most influential academic on 'otherness' is Edward Said and his work *Orientalism* originally published in 1978, and recently republished in 2003 with a preface on the post 9/11 era. In the preface Said (2003) states:

The human, and humanistic desire for enlightenment and emancipation is not easily deferred, despite the incredible strength of the opposition to it that comes from the Rumsfelds, Bin Ladens, Sharons and Bushes of the world. I would like to believe that Orientalism has had a place in the long and often interrupted road

to human freedom (Said, 2003: xxii).

Said's (2003: xxii) working from a humanist perspective, carrying out a philological study, works from the precept that accepts the need for critical analysis of 'the active practice of worldly secular rational discourse'. From that standpoint Said (2003) illustrates the perspective of the *Orient* (the other) and continually identifies the implicit and explicit ways, historically and contemporarily, that otherness has continued at all levels of culture and society. The ubiquity of otherness positions the *Orient* in a continual battle for emancipation, freedom and recognition of equality with the 'West' (Ibid). This thesis, as with Said (2003) will be critically scrutinizing constructions of otherness, and indeed it was reading Orientalism back in the 1990s that first brought the concept of otherness into my awareness.

This thesis, like Said (2003) appreciates the way in which otherness reveals itself in all aspects of culture and society. Unlike Said's (2003) overarching examination of otherness this thesis will deliver a far narrower area of analysis. Nevertheless, Said (2003) continues to inspire. He has demonstrated that only by appreciating the contextual circumstances which surround the creation and production of any piece of literature, dramatic performance, educational teaching or, as in this case, presidential rhetoric, can there be an understanding of *what* they convey.

Several scholars, Otto (1973)²⁶, Eliade (1957), and Van der Leeuw (1986), have all been interested in otherness as a means for discerning the core of *all* religious experiences (Engnell, 1993). This thesis relies on Otto's (1973) concept of the 'rhetoric of otherness' and the conditions under which it has most influence. The contention of this thesis being that after 9/11 Bush used the 'rhetoric of otherness' through religious myths. Otto's (1973) work was ground-breaking in its time for explaining why the 'rhetoric of otherness' was important in explaining a religious experience. These scholars and the circumstances necessary for the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Ibid) to invoke such influence will be elucidated upon in Chapter Three and this will be important when examining the previous attacks and the ability of any President to use the 'rhetoric of otherness' to meet the demands of their respective rhetorical events.

Otto (1973) indicated that his philosophical notion of the 'rhetoric of otherness' at that time was conceived as being purely a religious experience, simply because psychoanalyst had yet to describe an equivalent 'numinous' non-religious experience. This thesis would suggest Frankl (2000) has since described such a 'numinous' non-religious experience. Consequently, this thesis argues that Otto's (1973) 'rhetoric of otherness' has the capacity to arouse American religious identity (understood as 'moral orientation' (Eisenach, 2000)) to explain the *why* and *how* exposition and this is expanded upon in Chapter Three.

²⁶ Otto, Rudolph (1973) The original publication was 1923, and the 1973 version is a reprint of the 1958 2nd edition. Its significance stems from the fact that at the beginning of the twenty-first century scholars continue to quote Otto.

American Myths:

*The children of Israel in the wilderness, led by
a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; and on
the other side, Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chief
from whom we claim the honor of being descended,
and whose political principles and form of government
we have assumed (Jefferson, 1776 in Howe, 1989: 1).*

In 1776, Thomas Jefferson suggested that the newly proclaimed United States of America needed to utilize these representations on its seal (Ibid). Howe (1989) argues that the narratives of the Israelites and of the Anglo-Saxons predetermined the geographical exigence of America, as these nations evolved from migrations across the waters to paradise. The value of that representation was its ability to capture a recurring traditional theme that carried resonance and understanding for the people. Lipset asserts that America remains exceptional in originating 'from a revolutionary event, in being 'the first new nation,' the first colony, other than Iceland, to become independent' (Lipset, 1996: 18). He adds that America's reason for existence has been defined ideologically and this has been intertwined with the cultural identity.

Campbell (1988) a scholar of mythology proposes that the value of using myths lies in their 'motivating power' or 'value system'. Campbell's (1988) notion regarding the value of myths and Eisenach's (2000) definition of national religious identity, as a common 'moral orientation' demonstrate the interconnection between myths and arousing American religious identity. Indeed, Eisenach (2000) adds the caveat that this is only possible by disassociating 'religion' from 'church', which demonstrates the inappropriate premise of Huntington's (2004) work. Eisenach (2000) adds there needs to be a common cultural religious understanding, since national religious institutions characterize American cultural political history. This thesis argues that common cultural religious understanding is perpetuated through myths because American myths have the capacity to speak to the experience of people across the religious and secular divide. A detailed examination of this premise resides in Chapter Three.

CONCLUSION:

The foregoing has illustrated the ways in which presidential rhetoric is generally researched and highlighted the fact that surprisingly little research has been conducted which concentrates on the way in which President Bush used the 'rhetoric of otherness', post 9/11. Since the Wilson presidency at the beginning of the twentieth century, Presidents have utilized the available

coeval media technology to ensure the American public heard ‘their message’. This understanding suggests that within the present era there is a readiness for Presidents to ignore the concerns of Congress and directly marshal public opinion as a standard means of governance (Stuckey, 2010). Academics working in the field of the *rhetorical presidency* examine the changing nature of presidential rhetoric, often with an appreciation for the significant influence of modern media technology. However academics within that field regard the significance of modern technology primarily as a means for examining, illustrating or explaining how this impacts the governance of the office.

Speech and communication scholars from the discipline of *presidential rhetoric* are concerned with the ‘study of political language’ (Windt, 1986, 112), ‘the principles and practices of rhetoric’ (Medhurst, 1996: XIV) and a ‘rhetorical critic interpretations’ Zarefsky (2004: 610). The work of these scholars has been influential in defining the way in which a conceptual understanding for examining Bush’s post 9/11 presidential rhetoric has been fashioned in this thesis. The purpose of the rhetorical critic is to examine the text as a complete performance and interpret the different levels of meaning within that performance. The practical application of adopting the position of a rhetorical critic to analyse Wilson, Roosevelt, Carter and Bush’s post attack addresses will be elucidated in Chapter Two.

Presidential rhetoric, while widely researched, tends to concentrate on particular genres of presidential speech or on the changing role of presidential

rhetoric. The importance for understanding the way Bush initiated a patriotic discourse is that it may be overlooked by academics endeavouring to explain the power of presidential rhetoric in terms of policy outcome or effective speech delivery. This thesis will add knowledge to the field of *presidential rhetoric* because it examines the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), (9/11) and the capacity of that situation, because of the cultural and social context of the time, to create demands. The situation required a response from Bush, and it is that response that sits at the heart of this thesis. Bush's post 9/11 presidential rhetoric was used to delineate the boundaries for the American public to understand *why* the attacks occurred and *how* they needed to respond. He achieved that by using the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through religious myths to define a patriotic discourse. This thesis examines Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric in a new and meaningful way, by examining every aspect surrounding the event and the response to that event, how this will be achieved is the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS AN ANALYTICAL APPROACH

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter will establish the way in which the analytical approach of the rhetorical critic is employed in this thesis. As the previous chapter illustrated, Presidential Rhetoric is a discipline. However the concern of this chapter resides with presidential rhetoric as a means for interpretation it is an address, a performance and a product of circumstance. This will be achieved by explaining precisely what aspects of Bush's post 9/11 presidential rhetoric require scrutiny, and by implementing that same mode of examination for each previous President's rhetoric a coherent approach is assured.

The rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1968) of 9/11 enabled Bush to use his presidential rhetoric for a particular purpose, and the contention of the thesis is that Bush, post 9/11 used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to promote a patriotic discourse. The analytical approach of the rhetorical critic will facilitate an analysis of the way Bush utilized the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) after 9/11. It will be argued that it was used through American myths to educate the American public regarding *why* the attacks happened and *how* good Americans needed to react (patriotic discourse)²⁷. Implementing a rhetorical critic's approach will help to reveal the complex system within the construction, dissemination, choreography, delivery and audiences of presidential rhetoric after a rhetorical event. Zarefsky (2004: 609) situates

²⁷ See Thesis Introduction for a detailed explanation on why this is referred to as Bush's post 9/11 patriotic discourse.

academic work considering the relationship between the text and the rhetorical critic as 'analogous to a work of literary or visual art'.

The approach of the rhetorical critic being used throughout this thesis will therefore be to apply an analytical interpretation, focusing on the many layers of meaning possible from Wilson, Roosevelt, Carter and Bush's post attack presidential rhetoric. The chapter begins by characterizing the various ways of examining presidential rhetoric and why the rhetorical critic approach will be a valuable approach as a means of analysis for this thesis. Subsequently it will involve an expansion of what it means, in both conceptual and practical terms, to employ the approach of the rhetorical critic for the analysis of previous presidential rhetoric and that of Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. This is followed by an elucidation on the significance of various aspects being analysed when employing the analytical approach of the rhetorical critic. For this thesis the importance rests on the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), the influence of the media, the historical era and the initiated discourses. This is followed by an outline of the criteria incorporated for deciding upon which previous presidential rhetoric will be analysed as points of comparison to Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. It provides detailed practical guidelines necessary to ensure a consistent analysis within the rhetorical critic approach across the diverse presidential rhetoric. The chapter concludes with a summary of how the rhetorical critic approach will be utilized within this thesis, thus enhancing current knowledge on presidential rhetoric.

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC:

In analytical terms Presidential Rhetoric as a discipline concerns two areas of study: the *rhetorical presidency* and *presidential rhetoric*. A detailed exploration of the differences between these areas of study has been carried out in Chapter One. Stuckey (2010) suggests that these areas of study remain the dominant methodological categories within contemporary academic research for Presidential Rhetoric. The analytical position of this thesis lies within the area of *presidential rhetoric*, specifically, the analysis of Bush's post 9/11 presidential rhetoric and how the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) was used through American myths. The approach of the rhetorical critic will allow a comparison to be drawn between previous presidents and Bush, by analysing several pieces of presidential rhetoric and incorporating the same analytical approach. The same approach will facilitate an analysis exemplifying how Bush used presidential rhetoric after the rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1968) of 9/11. The following exposition examines the different approaches available and why the rhetorical critic approach is employed for this thesis.

Zarefsky (2004) asserts that there is a challenge when studying *presidential rhetoric* because rhetoric is both a discipline in itself, and a form of evidence that academics may utilize from any branch of knowledge. Zarefsky (2004:

608) says the difficulty in this type of research is that it is inclined to 'reduce the message to a verbal text and then to treat the text as a 'black box,' rather than seeing its dynamics as interesting and worthy of analysis in their own right'. Generally, academics in the field examine 'text' as rhetoric (Kuypers, 1997) and concentrate on illustrating causal effects with the amount, quality, or type of presidential rhetoric influencing policy outcomes. The rhetorical nature of the presidency (in this sense it may be either the institutional value of presidential 'text' singularly or anyone speaking on behalf of the institution of the president) exemplifies another way causal effects may be examined with respect to an administration's ability to govern. For example, this type of methodology may examine the 'text' of a speech and link it to a Congressional voting outcome. Unfortunately, 'text' does not happen within a controlled setting, and outside societal factors require consideration when examining voting patterns. The argument being put forward here is that situational 'context' and historical 'context' need to be understood in tandem to enhance Zarefsky's (2004) criteria for analysing rhetoric from this standpoint.

Rhetorical Critic:

In the field of the humanities in which the discipline of rhetorical studies is situated, and where this research belongs, different ontological premises exist; Zarefsky (2004) suggests that this area relies on a more complicated understanding of the rhetorical deed. Working within this premise, the person delivering the speech or the writer of the speech (the rhetor) makes decisions

regarding the most suitable language and most appropriate environment/medium in which to deliver the speech (Zarefsky, 2004). These decisions are made on the basis of the listeners, viewers, or spectators (the audience) and Zarefsky (2004) adds, the most desirable way to achieve the required aims and objectives in relation to the particular situation²⁸. Zarefsky (2004) asserts these decisions are made in relation to the construction of the argument, phrasing, style, and structuring and embedded in the text the rhetor composes. However, they are only fully understood by examining these facets of the text alongside the conditions and the choreography of presidential performance in delivering the argument. At the same time every audience is affected by the situation or circumstances in which the text is delivered. The situation and the position of the various audiences will have implications regarding how the rhetoric is appreciated, defined and deciphered for its meaning. This, in turn, will affect how much influence the address holds for the various audiences (Zarefsky, 2004).

This understanding of the rhetorical deed, Zarefsky (2004) suggests, facilitates three different areas of academic research. Firstly, research examining the relationship between the message and the audiences as primarily an empirical matter, as understood within the concept of experiment or observation leading to conclusions or causal effects. Secondly, research examining the relationship between the rhetor and the text, allowing for an historical perspective examining the author's rhetorical decisions, the thought

²⁸ Zarefsky (2004) contends that a classic statement on 'rhetorical situation' is available; Bitzer, Lloyd F. (1968), 'the Rhetorical Situation', *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1 (Winter: 1-14). Bitzer's ideas on the 'rhetorical situation' are considered later in this chapter.

process, whether decisions were intended, what led to the decisions. And finally, research examining the relationship between the text and the rhetorical critic, who employs various scrutinizing approaches to uncover levels of interpretation or importance within the text. In this context 'text' is used to mean not only the content of the speech, but also the entire presidential performance as outlined previously. The last-mentioned approach is a method of suppositional deduction of the text, enlightened by the critic's acumen into the text's potential. It is this final method with which this thesis will concern itself, for the purposes of carrying out its analysis. Zarefsky (2004: 609) describes this as: 'analogous to a work of literary or visual art', which arguably in this thesis equates to the study, interpretation and appraisal of presidential rhetoric. The suitability of carrying out this type of approach for a political/cultural based analysis is corroborated by Jupp and Norris (1993).

Jupp and Norris assert that when adopting a discourse or interpretative analytical approach:

one would believe that the critical analysis of a document involves ... questioning why the document was produced, what is being said (overtly and covertly) and what is not being said. Furthermore, we need to be aware of the particular language used (and the meaning that lies behind it) and of the social relations that inform the different stages of history (Jupp and Norris, 1993: 47).

It is argued that both Zarefsky (2004) and Jupp and Norris (1993), while not using identical language are suggesting a common denominator in their descriptions, namely the critic. The critic may be described as the rhetorical critic, the literary critic, or the political critic. Zarefsky (2004) suggesting 'context' as part of the analysis, refers back to Bitzer (1968)²⁹ therefore it must be assumed his comments refer to the 'rhetorical situation'. Jupp and Norris (1993) refer to the need to consider the social relations that permeate different periods of history, something similar to what Poovey (1995) delineates as the 'historical epistemology'. This thesis acknowledges the significance of the 'rhetorical situation' but additionally contends that context also needs consideration with regard to the respective historical or cultural era in which the event occurs. Therefore it is useful to think of a critic's analysis as an examination taking into account the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) and the historical period. The importance of these areas is reflected by the fact that each will form respective subsections within this chapter.

The purpose of the critic is to examine the text as a complete performance and interpret the different levels of meaning available within that performance. This thesis will employ an analysis that considers the way in which the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) was utilized within the speeches of several of Bush's predecessors in the wake of other landmark events, and follows with an analysis of Bush's post 9/11 utterances. Different facets of the speeches will be examined, for example, what was said (often through metaphors and myths) and what was not said. Alongside that, the situation and environment

²⁹ Zarefsky (2004) references Bitzer (1968) see previous footnote.

in which the speech was delivered will be scrutinized. Included in the analysis will be, who (president and presidential speechwriters) or what (situational context and historical context) influenced the composition of the speech. It will also be important to decipher the purpose of the speech, what it was saying and the interpretations available to various audiences. Finally, the role of media technology in the transmission and coverage of the speech must be taken into account in any analysis.

The foregoing clarifies how the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) will be analysed. Chapter One and Three elucidate what the 'rhetoric of otherness' (ibid) is and why it is useful for summoning American religious identity post 9/11. The analytical approach of the rhetorical critic acknowledges the significance of the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) in the understanding of 'context'. An important role as a rhetorical critic is to uncover the capacity and function of the media in creating an understanding and awareness for the American public regarding the gravitas of the rhetorical event. Indeed the dichotomy within media technology between, for example, 9/11 and the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* illustrates that position. The 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) of 9/11 was first and foremost created by the way it was captured and transmitted via the media. In contrast the capability of the media in 1915 resulted in some regions of the United States not reporting the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* until a much later date, or giving the crisis (as internationalists might have considered) insufficient coverage. The lack of media technology in 1915 therefore, meant that the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* was not a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) for all Americans, unlike 9/11,

which was witnessed live across the world and consequently became a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) on a global scale. The significance of the media has another role within this thesis, in that it highlights the opportunities as well as the constraints which the media places on presidential rhetoric, thereby revealing the media's ability to enable different layers of meaning to be represented.

Rhetorical Situation:

It is Bitzer's (1968) concept of the 'rhetorical situation' that is being used in this thesis, however, this is not to be confused with Windt (1983) and Kuypers' (1997) term presidential crisis rhetoric, as discussed in Chapter One. Bitzer (1999: 218)³⁰ postulated that 'the rhetorical situation' is dependent upon 'the context in which speakers or writers create discourse'. However, all situations do not coincide with a discourse, 'it is the situation which calls the discourse into existence' (Bitzer, 1999: 218). Bitzer's (1968) concept is that the rhetorical speech is a consequence of the situation and a reaction to that situation. Bitzer's (1968) explanation of rhetoric is that it is 'situational' and 'pragmatic'. To begin with Bitzer (1999: 218) states: 'Rhetorical discourse ... obtain[s] its character-as-rhetorical from the situation which generates it'. As a rhetorical critic it is the situation, which Zarefsky (2004) refers to as the 'context', which is a necessary part of the analysis as it is the 'context' that enables the rhetoric to gain meaning. Consequently, this will be an important

³⁰ Bitzer, Lloyd (1999) 'The Rhetorical Situation' (eds.) Lucaites, John Luis; Condit, Celeste Michele; and Caudill, Sally *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory: A Reader* : 218 - 231 Reprinted with permission from *Philosophy and Rhetoric Vol. 1* (1968) 1-14, New York , Guilford Press.

part of understanding the presidential rhetoric both in the 'context' of the individual Presidents and in comparing the 'context' between the various Presidents' rhetoric.

Bitzer (1968) then carries the argument forward by adding that rhetoric is also pragmatic. The rhetor persuasively endeavours to transform the reality of the listeners on different levels and for particular reasons. In Bitzer's words:

..... A work of rhetoric is pragmatic; it comes into existence for the sake of something beyond itself; it functions ultimately to produce action or change in the world; it performs some task. In short, rhetoric is a creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action. The rhetor alters reality by bringing into existence a discourse of such a character that the audience, in thought and action, is so engaged that it becomes mediator of change. In this sense rhetoric is always persuasive (Bitzer, 1999: 219).

The circumstances of 9/11 were clearly visible to the American public to the extent that the public did not require a discourse to make them aware of the nature of the event. Indeed, it will be illustrated that Bush's presidential rhetoric was used 'for the sake of something beyond itself' (Bitzer, 1999: 219). It was almost as if the rhetorical event (9/11) was so overwhelming that the public required a discourse simply to understand *why* the attacks occurred, and *how*, as good Americans, they needed to respond. The approach of the rhetorical critic will analyse how Bush after 9/11 utilized his presidential

rhetoric to create a patriotic discourse. This approach allows Bitzer's (Ibid) contention that a 'work of rhetoric is pragmatic' to be examined with respect to the part played by each President and his speechwriters regarding choreography and language construction. Bitzer states:

*the audience, in thought and action, is so
engaged that it becomes mediator of change.
In this respect rhetoric is always persuasive
(Bitzer, 1999: 219).*

If Bitzer's philosophy about rhetoric is accepted then when applied to situation of 9/11 it was the patriotic discourse that followed the situation that was a 'mediator of change'³¹. This concurs with the position of this thesis, which is that Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric did not define the situation (that was achieved by the media) but answered the demands of the situation by espousing a rhetoric which reflected his personal interpretation of the *why* and *how* exposition. Therefore, ultimately Bush used the patriotic discourse to ensure that his foreign policy initiatives would be accepted by the American people and by Congress. As a rhetorical critic it will be necessary to examine Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric and either substantiate or invalidate that notion with reliable interpretative evidence.

³¹ It is the example of Bush post 9/11 that will be used throughout the thesis when adding context for any philosophical or theoretical argument. However, the same principle will be followed and applied in the analysis of Wilson, Roosevelt and Carter. It is written that way to add consistency and clarity for the reader, who no doubt will remember that the argument pertains to all the presidential rhetoric being examined.

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Historical Context:

It was Jupp and Norris (1993: 47) who asserted when analysing rhetoric that an important aspect is the language and 'the social relations that inform the different stages of history'. The relevance of Jupp and Norris's (1993) comments highlight the significance of examining the historical context in any analysis of presidential language. For example, after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt's 'Other' was Hitler or the Japanese depending on the circumstance of the speech. During the Cold War, Presidents from Truman to Reagan portrayed the USSR as the 'Other', the 'Evil Empire'. Immediately after 9/11 Bush used metaphors of the 'Other' to reflect Al-Qaeda as the 'Evil Other', and that arguably developed into Islam as the 'Evil Other'. For the purpose of this thesis historical era or historical period will be used to denote the necessity to understand the historical context of presidential rhetoric. Jupp and Norris (1993) describe this in regard to understanding the meaning of rhetoric within the language of the period of social history in which it was articulated. As a rhetorical critic, one of the areas of analysis is uncovering the possible

interpretations of presidential rhetoric by members of the audience. The rhetorical critic's analysis therefore begins by deconstructing the seminal event under scrutiny and its relevance to historical era. This can then be compared to what transpired on the day of September 11, 2001 and in the immediate days following. This will help to generate the analysis and piece together the way in which Bush post 9/11 delineated the boundaries for understanding the discourse of American patriotism.

Discourse:

This thesis when using the term discourse is referring to public discourse rather than private discourse, the significance of this is that attention will be drawn to symbolic and meaningful performances that have an impact on the American public writ large rather than specific individuals. Lucaites et al. (1999) describe how classical teachers of rhetoric considered that an essential feature of an educated citizen was the expertise to influence public discourse in policy debates or changes within society. In addition, Lucaites et al. (1999) suggest given the classical engagements with republican and democratic styles of governance, public discourse was important due to its capability for persuasion, namely its capacity to influence understanding and behaviour through the power of symbolic interaction. Rhetoricians identified with that especially in politics and social circumstances where the narratives and styles used for creating discourse were fundamental to the 'truth' of the thing being

characterized, and performed a vital part in stimulating and inspiring public unity, and in defining an appropriate response (Ibid).

This thesis accepts the precept of Lucaites et al.'s (1999) argument on public discourse and the classical rhetoricians' notions on the purpose of the rhetoric in its creation. However, it will be useful to explain the implications of this view on the analytical approach of the rhetorical critic in practical terms. To place Lucaites et al.'s (1999) concept into twentieth and twenty-first century context the educated citizen, to whom the classical teachers refer, would fall within the category of politicians, lobbyists, academics and activists, who require the skill and ability to influence public discourse. The analytical approach of this thesis corresponds with the classical rhetoricians' concept that narratives (stories or myths) and styles (through images, imagery and metaphor) used for initiating a discourse are fundamental for understanding the 'truth' of an event (*why* 9/11 occurred) and stimulating action (*how* Americans needed to respond). This would imply that the analytical approach of the rhetorical critic will be ideal for analysing the way in which Bush used presidential rhetoric post 9/11 to initiate a patriotic discourse. This may suggest presidential rhetoric will be examined adopting a post-structuralist approach, however it is not and the necessity here is to demonstrate the difference between this thesis and post-structuralist analyses of Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric.

Social Constructionist Approach:

This thesis adopts the rhetorical critic approach for analysing the way in which Otto's (1973) 'rhetoric of otherness' has been used within presidential rhetoric through mythical metaphor, images and imagery. The analysis of previous presidential rhetoric after unique and seminal moments in American history highlights the way in which the demands from that situation and the coeval social and cultural influences affect the resulting rhetoric. The primary concern of the thesis is presidential rhetoric analyses which includes: Wilson (1915), Roosevelt (1941b, 1942), Carter (1979a, 1979b) and Bush's (2001a, 2001g, 2001i, 2002) and how each used the constructions of the 'other' to define the *why* and *how* exposition, namely, the patriotic discourse.

The area of analysis, presidential speeches, and the capacity of the language used to deliver various meanings to different audiences may allude to a post-structuralist discourse analysis approach for examining such language. The difference between this analysis and that of social constructionists, post-structuralists being a sub-set of that group, stems from theoretical position from which the speeches will be scrutinized or deconstructed. The purpose of the analyses of the various speeches will be in illuminating possible interpretations that were available to various audiences who read, heard, or witnessed the speeches. At the same time the analyses delineates the way

these different meanings enabled audiences to understand *why* a unique event occurred and *how* they needed to respond as ‘good’ Americans.

It is argued that Jackson (2005) and Ivie (2007) scrutinized Bush’s post 9/11 rhetoric from a post-structuralist approach as well as having at times examined the same speeches as this thesis. Their work illustrates the disparity between this work undertaken from a rhetorical critic approach and that of the post-structuralist. For example, Jackson (2005) examines the omnipresent narrative of threat and danger, scrutinizing speeches, proposals and policy declarations across Bush’s Administration and the way these ideas were incorporated into the social and cultural facets of American society. His work highlights how the politics of fear served to compel national unity, (re)create national identity, shroud the neo-conservative geo-strategic programme and consolidate the establishments of state coercion (Ibid). What Jackson (2005) neglected to consider was *why* the ‘rhetoric of otherness’ (Otto, 1973) answered the *why* and *how* exposition. Arguably, this answer could only originate from a critical analysis approach that is concerned more about the presidential rhetoric as a performance and why different circumstances enabled the variety of messages of otherness.

Jackson (2005) demonstrates the way language and the politics of fear act to construct counter-terrorism and the concept of America’s supremacy. It is a

very Foucauldian³² study in the way it handles the evidence and tracks the historical outcomes. Jackson (2005) presents the way in which Americans gained knowledge regarding their 'true' place in the world post 9/11, through religious myths and American Exceptionalism³³. Jackson (2005) utilized a discourse analysis methodology with the underlying argument demonstrating that American knowledge about their place in the world delivered the power for the American government and its' military to adopt behaviour which would have otherwise been described as 'un-American'.

No doubt critics of this thesis will argue that this thesis achieves the same result as it examines the *why* and *how* exposition. However this thesis does not then go on to illustrate the purpose for which the behaviour of the 'good' American was used to quash dissent. In Jackson's (2005) work on the other hand, it was his primary purpose to demonstrate the way in which the discourse of fear through the narrative of threat and danger, allowed the American government the power to act and overcome ethical scrutiny in relation to Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib and rendition (in the early post 9/11 period).

In the Literature Review Ivie (2007) has been reflected upon and his work analyses Bush's post 9/11 speeches and the discourse which emanated from those utterances. Nevertheless, like Jackson (2005), Ivie (2007) examines

³² See for example Foucault (1980) which illustrates the importance of the relationship between power/knowledge. Foucault (2007) establishes the value of 'truth' within discourses and its persuasive powers.

³³ Lipset (1997) American Exceptionalism is expanded upon in the following chapter.

Bush's post 9/11 speeches to demonstrate the way language was used to create a discourse which Ivie refers to as Bush's 'war rhetoric'. The result of the 'war rhetoric' discourse was to disenfranchise anti-war protesters, by characterizing them as un-American. Ivie (2007) through his exhaustive analysis identifies the way in which anti-war protestors have the capability to voice opposition to the 'War on Terror' while maintaining their patriotic credentials. Without detailing the same information identified earlier, this work deviates from the post-structuralist approach on a decisive issue. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) consider discourse analysis from the perspective of the social constructionist and what that means in relation to method and theory. They state:

discourse analysis [undertaken within a social constructionist perspective] share certain key premises about 'language' and 'the subject' ... [and the research involved] that is, to investigate and analyse power relations in society and to formulate normative perspectives from which a critique of such relations can be made with an eye on the possibilities for social change (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 2).

This thesis may well be concerned with illustrating the way the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) was utilized within presidential rhetoric to define the boundaries for understanding American and by inference, un-American behaviour (normative perspectives). However, it is not considering as either

Jackson (2005) or Ivie (2007) have done how different sectors of society re-establish their patriotic credentials while disagreeing with American government actions or policy. Indeed, while this thesis may have sympathies for the post-structuralist theoretical positioning on discourse and power differentials that is not the focus of analysis for this research. Consequently, the rhetorical critic approach meets the demands for examining how individual President's have utilized constructions of the 'other' through religious myths and why during unique seminal moments in history this was possible. The analysis reveals that it is the circumstances surrounding the event its impact and the ability of that event to be experienced (or not experienced) by the audiences which enables the constructions of the 'other' to be employed in various ways depending upon the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) and the exigencies of the situation.

Presidential Comparisons:

The previous sections have demonstrated the basis upon which the analytical approach of the rhetorical critic will function. The contention of this thesis is that Bush after a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), namely the atrocities of September 11, 2001, utilized the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through American myths initiating the boundaries for a patriotic discourse. One of the areas to concentrate on is whether Bush used presidential rhetoric after 9/11 in a significantly different way to previous presidents after a 'rhetorical

situation' (Bitzer, 1968). At this point, it is important to indicate which earlier US Presidents will be examined and the criteria for the selection process. The thesis will examine the presidential rhetoric from the following: Wilson after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*; Roosevelt after the attack on Pearl Harbor and Carter during the Iranian hostage siege and compare and contrast their rhetoric to Bush's post 9/11.

The selection process for choosing which previous presidential rhetoric will be scrutinized has been guided by examining the event of 9/11, and the extenuating circumstances around that atrocity which contributed to its significance. The important facets for understanding the significance of the attacks of September 11, 2001 are summarized within the criteria for selecting the appropriate comparisons. The first criterion is that each President selected experienced a surprise attack carried out by foreigners on fellow Americans or American territory, a particular type of 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968). The second criterion is that each President signified a different media technological era for disseminating information to the American public in relation to the event. In conjunction with that, the coeval media capabilities could be effectively employed for supporting and/or impeding presidential rhetoric, after the event. The third criterion is that each President embodied a specific historical era within American society. The fourth criterion is that the attack prepared the way for a change of foreign policy initiatives.

It is believed that these criteria reflect four important aspects of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Consequently, these points have been used as guidelines for deciding which surprise attacks to be considered alongside Bush's presidential rhetoric after 9/11. As stated earlier, the analysis will concentrate on speeches within different timeframes after each attack. This is necessary due to the variation of media technology available when considering the different circumstances of each President. The analysis will individually examine each previous President (as specified) alongside Bush and compare the various ways in which the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) was used, or not used, within connotations of American myths. The first point, the surprise attack, or as Bitzer (1968) described it the 'rhetorical situation', becomes the problematization for the respective presidential rhetoric. The rhetorical demands emanate from the visibility, scale, ferocity, and public knowledge of the event creating specific demands and opportunities for the respective President to initiate the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto 1973). The speeches under analysis will illuminate how the disparate events provided different rhetorical opportunities for utilizing American myths within the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Ibid). However, the type of attack and the coeval media and cultural period in which they occur may have had an impact on the way the individual President's undertook to characterize the situation and consequently to promote differing discourses.

The second point highlights the key role the media played in covering the 9/11 attacks live on global media transmissions thus creating a specific atmosphere, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the attacks. For the

purposes of this thesis the term media is being used to indicate how news and information is disseminated locally and globally across the population during any given period. The significance of the media in the 9/11 attacks cannot be overemphasized. However, the developments in media technology since the beginning of the twentieth century suggest that the role of the media with regard to the different surprise attacks has been anything but static³⁴. The analysis of the various presidential speeches illustrates the importance of the media in enabling the American population to gain knowledge about the event and appreciate the scale and magnitude of the transpiring events. At the same time the media has played an influential role in the style and presentation of presidential speeches. Consequently, the analysis of the individual presidential speeches will underline the role of the media in augmenting or constraining the respective President's rhetorical opportunities.

The third point enables significant differences to be given prominence which coincide with the second point, but perhaps allow for a more nuanced understanding of the significance of discourses within the respective periods. At the beginning of the twentieth century discourses were initiated by presidential rhetoric which was written and delivered by the President to limited audiences, and only available to mass audiences via newspapers. Over the century the changing cultural technologies correlate with a transformation in the way presidential rhetoric was constructed and by whom. The changing political, social and cultural values also reflect the

³⁴ See Chapter Three for a full description of the way the media technology changed over the twentieth century and the role that played in the public's perception of surprise attacks.

transformation of the presidential speechwriter and his or her role in creating presidential rhetoric. The analysis of presidential speeches over disparate cultural periods exemplifies the contextual importance for understanding the way American myths have been used within the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) during particular historical eras to promote specific knowledge.

The fourth criterion adds to the overall thesis analysis because it is the required common denominator under which all the presidential rhetoric must be positioned. The consequence of this criterion as a rhetorical critic is that it will maintain the focus of analysis across the presidential rhetoric examined. This will be achieved by critically analysing the way in which the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) was used after the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) for exemplifying the discourse it perpetuated. For example, after 9/11 Bush initiated a patriotic discourse that educated the American public on *why* the attacks occurred and *how* they needed to respond. After 9/11, patriotic Americans were required to respond with the 'War on Terror'. Alternatively Roosevelt, after Pearl Harbor, used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) as a means for initiating a patriotic discourse that specifically required Hitler's demise, prior to defeating Japan. These examples further highlight the significance of the chosen criteria, as a necessity for the approach of the rhetorical critic to deliver a sophisticated interpretative analysis of the presidential rhetoric.

CONCLUSION:

This chapter indicates the value of positioning this analysis within the field of *presidential rhetoric* and incorporating Zarefsky's (2004) analytical approach of the rhetorical critic, which he describes as commensurate to an analysis of 'literary or visual art'. The chosen analytical approach has been differentiated from the social constructionist discourse methodology used by Jackson (2005) and Ivie (2007). It has been argued that the theoretical positioning of this thesis reflects the requirement for the rhetorical critic approach. This will be utilized to achieve an understanding of all the relevant aspects which affect *why* and *how* the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) can or cannot be used in presidential rhetoric

The thesis will submit a rhetorical critic's interpretation of presidential rhetoric delivered by three previous Presidents after a seminal event and distinguish that from Bush's post 9/11 presidential rhetoric. The analysis will focus on the way the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) was used by each President, and *why* and *how* it was used in that particular way. For this to be achieved it is the interrelationship between the following which requires scrutiny: the construction and substance of the speech; the ability for and capability of the President in delivering the speech; the circumstances and/or environment in which the speech was delivered; the available media technology and the type of coverage of the speech; the type, style and character of the initiated discourse; and the interpretations available to the various audiences to which

the speech was addressed. The way these constituent parts work together creates a particular understanding regarding the events and the recourse to such events. This analysis will produce interpretative evidence that will facilitate academics to fully appreciate *how* the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) is used relates to the circumstances surrounding the exigencies of the specific 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968).

CHAPTER THREE

AMERICAN MYTHS AND

CONSTRUCTIONS OF OTHERNESS

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter illustrates the interrelationship of American religious identity, religious myths and the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). It will be argued that the ability for myths, through the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Ibid) to awaken religious identity may be influenced by the rhetorical situation. This thesis argues that Bush met the demands of September 11, 2001 using the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through religious myths, and therefore it is necessary to emphasize the importance of myths in arousing American religious identity. The chapter begins by outlining the notions and concepts of myths and their importance within American religious identity understood as 'moral orientation' (Eisenach, 2000). This will be followed by an examination of American myths (Bellah, 1992; Hughes, 2004), and will culminate showing the link between these myths and Otto's (1973) 'rhetoric of otherness'. The following chapter will then highlight the significance of the speechwriters and the media in constructing and disseminating the rhetorical situation and the presidential rhetoric which meets the demands of that situation.

As the Introduction to this thesis outlined September 11, 2001 was a unique moment in American history. Bush (2001c, 2001g, 2001l, 2002) met the rhetorical demands of that event by announcing to the American public *why* the attacks occurred and *how* they needed to react through mythical imagery.

This chapter indicates the way in which religious myths have the capacity to speak to the American religious identity, what Eisenach (2000) refers to as America's 'moral orientation'. The mythical imagery used in the immediate aftermath and days following 9/11 possessed persuasive powers as the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) assumes particular sway after an event of such magnitude. The live media broadcasting of the 9/11 attacks enabled Americans and the global public alike to share in the trauma of the event. This thesis contends that it was the experiencing of the attacks that facilitated the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to be of value in the presidential rhetoric that met the demands of that situation. This chapter consequently begins with a way of understanding American religious identity within a secular context and the role myths play within that identity formation. This is not intended to be a controversial or ground breaking way of understanding American religious identity, rather the foundations for supporting the thesis proposition. This will allow the context for examining the way in which the American myths (Bellah, 1992; Hughes, 2004), which this thesis examines and characterize how constructions of 'otherness' lie at the core of these myths. The chapter will conclude by elucidating on Otto's (1973) 'rhetoric of otherness' and how it assumes relevance for all sectors of American society.

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY:

The American religious identity referred to in this thesis has from the outset been an implicit understanding of religious identity within a secular sense of

the word. The plurality of religious affiliations within the United States is well documented and not contentious (Eck, 2001; Smith, 2002; Haddad et al, 2003). Lipset (1996) contends that the breadth and scope of America's religiosity is one of the reasons for America being characterized as an 'Exceptional' nation and this will be expanded upon shortly. Huntington (2004) endeavours to define American religious identity as a 'Protestantized' Anglo Saxon identity for which all individuals in America need to aspire in order to obtain an American identity.

The United States is a nation created and, as Huntington (2004) elucidates, continually evolving by the changing nature of people who immigrate there. Consequently, any concept harnessed for understanding identity has to be useful when considering a multi cultural pluralistic society such as America. Huntington's book *Who Are We* endeavours to equate American religious identity with American Protestantism. He argues that throughout the history of America new immigrants with different religious affiliations have become assimilated into American identity as their religions became '*protestantized*'. This concept demonstrates Huntington's (2004) lack of understanding about either the Protestant religion, Catholicism, Judaism or any other religion. Huntington (2004) goes further he unashamedly declares that America is:

*deeply religious and primarily Christian country,
encompassing several religious minorities, adhering
to Anglo-Protestant values, speaking English,
maintaining its European cultural heritage, and
committed to the principles of the Creed. Religion*

has been and still is central, perhaps the central, element of American identity. America was founded in large part for religious reasons, and religious movements have shaped its evolution for almost four centuries' (Huntington, 2004:20).

What Huntington neglects to admit or acknowledge is the extent to which the original settlers adapted their Puritanism or Protestantism doctrines to enable them to live in harmony with each other. Unquestionably, for the early settlers and generations that followed Protestantism had an extensive influence on their American identity however, that adaptation was something new and different in itself, it was not identical to the 'Anglo-Protestantism' with which the settlers arrived. This evolution has continued throughout America's history allowing Catholic, Judaist and any religion or secularists to enjoy equal status as assimilated Americans. Huntington (2004) neglects to define what he means by 'Anglo-Protestant' values, while at the same time suggesting these values are irreconcilable with Latin American Catholicism, which again he neglects to define. This would suggest that immigrants originating from European countries, English, German, Polish, Italian and the Baltic States, etc. with a Catholic heritage can be 'Protestantized', and yet Latin American Catholics cannot be 'Protestantized'. This also ignores that fact few Catholics or Jews would want to be defined as Protestants and as such Huntington (2004) describes an American religious identity, without defining what he intends that 'religious identity' to encompass if not religion.

This demonstrates the importance of acknowledging the pluralistic nature of religion in America and at the same time recognizing that certain language – myth – has the capability to transgress religious boundaries and arouse a mystical understanding, or as Eisenach (2000) states a ‘moral orientation’. This thesis uses Eisenach’s (2000) concept of American ‘religious identity’ as the ‘moral orientation’ that all religious and non-religious alike can relate to within their American identity. At the same time it is argued that presidential rhetoric incorporating religious myths has the capacity to use language, imagery, images and symbols with the potential for delivering meaning to a variety of audience members and various niche groups receiving that rhetoric. Eisenach (2000) describes presidential rhetoric juxtaposed to speeches delivered by influential individuals in American culture and society as that which is delivered by ‘political theologians’. The significance of the ‘political theologian’ Eisenach states:

*What we can choose is to explore and become
articulate in the ‘moral sources’ that constitute our
shared moral orientations. ... most of us carry it out
secondhand in our social and public lives, relying
on intellectuals to frame the discussion and
political and cultural leaders to embody moral
orientations in institutions and practices
(Eisenach, 2000: IX).*

Eisenach’s (2000) notion that ‘most’ people absorb their ‘moral orientation’ from second hand sources, who he describes as ‘political theologians’,

demonstrates why presidential rhetoric is under scrutiny. This thesis argues that Bush met the demands of September 11, 2001 using the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through religious myths, and therefore it is necessary to emphasize the importance of myths in arousing American religious identity.

The difference between Huntington's (2004) work, and this thesis is that each of them originates from a different approach. Huntington (2004) delivers an overarching picture of American identity (including religious) and the evolutionary changes across American history. He identifies the constructions of otherness used during various moments of America's history and the purpose and focus of those constructions. The scope and breadth of Huntington's (2004) findings requires sweeping statements, stereotypical categorizations and a less than convincing concept of what American identity incorporates at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Huntington (2004) utilizes a concept of culture which appreciates its value for influencing behavioural patterns. What remains to be examined is *why* and *how* that is accomplished. To meet that requirement, arguably an in depth analysis would be useful. This thesis examines a very specific thing, presidential rhetoric; at a particular moment, in the immediate aftermath of an attack; through a unique lens, *how* and *why* does the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) yield influence; and what factors sustain that influence, the coeval media era. This results in a nuanced understanding of the way religious

myths deliver meaning at many levels of understanding and the way in which they work to answer the *why* and *how* exposition.

Huntington's (2004) codification of factors upon which identity develops and provokes personal or shared feelings, images, and customs requires further explanation. This will be accomplished in the following section by considering the work of Campbell (1988) and Cocker (2010) which identifies the role of the myth in stimulating these beliefs. However, it is only when this is combined with Rokkan and Unwin's (1983) notion of identity that the complex interrelationship between myth and identity becomes apparent.

Value of Myths:

It is to Campbell (1988), an expert on mythology, that this thesis turns for understanding the significance of myths. Myths, Campbell asserts, are stories about gods:

*A god is a personification of a motivating power
or a value system that functions in human life and
in the universe – the powers of your own body and
of nature. ... But also there are myths and gods that
have to do with specific societies or the patron deities
of the society. ... two totally different orders of
mythology. (Campbell, 1988: 22)*

Interestingly, Campbell's (1988) definition of gods does not suggest a religious being or spiritual being, but rather a 'motivating power' or 'value system'; this is significant as it allows for an understanding of American religious identity within Eisenach's (2000) definition of national religious identity, namely, a common 'moral orientation' that assumes the structure of a 'political theology'. Eisenach adds the caveat that this is only possible by disassociating 'religion' from 'church', recognizing a common cultural religious understanding, since national religious institutions characterize American cultural political history.

This theology, however, needs to be conveyed by cultural, social and political theologians, namely, all who instruct society regarding their national identity, their political obligations, and their moral duties in relationship to their actions. Rokkan and Urwin (1983) illustrate the significance of myth within identity, stating:

Identity can be broken down into at least four component parts: myth, symbol, history, and institutional ... the mythical aspects of identity may be defined as a set of beliefs (feelings, emotions, aspirations, and actions) that creates an instrumental pattern for behaviour in the sense that these beliefs provide aims for their followers...the most significant myth historically has been religion, whilst since the nineteenth century, nationalism as a myth can be regarded almost as a civil religion...the symbolic element represents the enduring expressive aspect of culture, transmitting its values from individual to individual, and from

generation to generation (Rokkan and Urwin, 1983, p 67).

This exemplifies the way in which at a personal level, individuals may be influenced by myths, and at a societal level 'patron deities' or spiritual guardians have the tendency to awaken moral orientation moral justice or moral righteousness. Therefore, during Bush's presidential rhetoric that cites spiritual guardians within American myths, it refers back to what Campbell (1988) describes as sociological myths linking individuals to a particular society. In this example it would be American individuals to American society and this corresponds to Rokkan and Urwin's (1983) argument on the importance of myth in American patriotism. Campbell (1988) indicates this in his example of the mythological importance of the American Great Seal:



Figure 2 American Great Seal³⁵

The significance of the pyramid is that it has four sides, which represent the four points of the compass. When standing at the bottom of the pyramid, whichever side an individual is positioned only the one side is visible, but when the individual reaches the apex or pinnacle the eye of God opens (Ibid). This refers however, to the God of reason. Campbell explains:

³⁵ 'Great Seal' <http://www.homeofheroes.com/hallofheroes/1stfloor/flag/greatseal>. [accessed 16 April 2010].

This [the United States] is the first nation in the world that was ever established on the basis of reason instead of simply warfare. These were eighteenth-century deists, ... These men did not believe in a Fall. They did not think the mind of man was cut off from God. The mind of man, cleansed of secondary and merely temporal concerns, beholds with the radiance of a cleansed mirror a reflection of the rational mind of God. Reason puts you in touch with God. ... That is the fundamental principle of democracy. (Campbell, 1988: 25)

Campbell's (1988) notion is essential for understanding the correlation between American myths and why they summon American religious identity within a secular understanding. At the same time Hughes' (2004) work *Myths America Lives By* examines the key myths of the Chosen Nation, Nature's Nation, the Christian Nation, the Innocent Nation and the myth of Manifest Destiny. Hughes (2004) deconstruction of the different American myths reveals that at the heart of all of the different myths lies the Other, Campbell's (1988) definition of myths explains why that would appear the case.

Engnell (1993) asserts that theistic religion and rhetoric are intimately linked, as most are operating within customs of Western culture that have been exceptionally influenced by both religion and rhetoric. The way in which these myths are utilized across history however, makes more sense when taking

into consideration Otto's (1973) necessary requirements for the 'rhetoric of otherness' to be effective, namely: bewilderment or utter amazement; awe and 'demonic dread'; and wonderment and gloriousness. This is corroborated by Engnell's (1993) suggestion that the Other in mystical spirituality tends to put forward a transitional Otherness that may be prominent or recede into the background depending on the circumstances of the being. This would indicate that during periods of stability and security the 'rhetoric of otherness' would hold insignificant influence in arousing American religious identity. However, after occurrences such as the terrorist attacks on 9/11 the American public are neither stable nor secure and consequently the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has a significant role in summoning American religious identity. Again, this corresponds with Engnell's (1993) contribution and considerations on the role of the Other in non-theistic religions. This explains the significance of the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Ibid) in arousing American religious identity.

Crocker (2010) corroborates why myths speak to religious and secular alike stating:

Myth has a history of being despised as a weak word for a weak idea. It can even mean simply 'untrue' in common speech. But myth classically understood offers huge open meta-narratives with value, hope, virtue, dilemma, heroism, tragedy, failure, redemption, resurrection, love, evil, justice. ... humanity more aware of its metaphysical nature,

*can engage with open meta-narratives inspired by
myth to develop its spiritual life (Crocker, 2010: 4).*

The significance of this statement is twofold, firstly Crocker (2010) is suggesting the importance of religious myths within a secular society and consequently when referring to spiritual life in the quote it is a reference to an individual acquiring a metaphysical inner strength. Crocker (2010) uses the term in a similar way to Frankl (2000) as a means for discovering 'ultimate meaning' or purpose in one's life. This may or may not be considered by the person experiencing it a religious experience, and hence the value of experiencing it through myths. Arguably, American myths continue to hold such influence for Americans in the twenty-first century because they imbue within individuals, groups, even nations a 'purpose'.

The second reason Crocker's (2010) concept on myth has significance for this thesis is that in this work he establishes the value of myth for imparting the 'moral justice' perspective for religious and atheist alike. Crocker (2010) recognizes however that 'justice' can be interpreted as 'righteousness' and shuns this interpretation due to its ability to be abused by positions of power. It is this 'righteousness', what Hughes (2004) refers to as 'absolutist' rationale when describing the way that myths can be harnessed for discriminatory purposes. This echoes a post-structuralist approach for examining the way American myths have been used to disenfranchise the 'other' during various periods of American history.

The 'absolutist' rationale that Hughes (2004) refers to resonates with Lipset's (1996) American Exceptionalism and the role of religion in American society.

Lipset states:

*Americans are utopian moralists who press hard
to institutionalize virtue, to destroy evil people, and
eliminate wicked institutions and practices
(Lipset, 1996:63).*

Lipset (Ibid) adds that this characterization is supported by polls indicating that 50% of Americans think that God is the absolute 'moral guiding force of American democracy'. Consequently, Americans are inclined to regard political and social crises as moral crises, struggles between God and the Devil, creating a situation in which compromise becomes aligned to treachery. However, while these statistics demonstrate that a majority (because 45% describe this as circumstantial and 5% state neither) it is only half of the Americans polled and it may be more valuable to consider this information further. What Lipset (1996) has not revealed is *why* a crisis arouses this moral guiding force, *what* type of crisis and *how* severe would the crisis have to be to stimulate this moral 'absolutist' conviction. Indeed, the previous chapter highlighted the importance of delineating 'crisis rhetoric' from that which this thesis will analyse. Lipset (Ibid) further argues that it is the absolutist moral nature of Americans which underpins the power of American myths to call American society to support American foreign policy.

Preston (2012) proposes that America's religion has been far more closely intertwined with its statecraft and foreign policy than is generally appreciated. When the Puritans arrived in America its invulnerability because of its geographical location enabled the country and its people to adopt and promote a freely chosen morality and that has influenced its successive governments (Preston, 2012). This has resulted in an American conviction that liberty corresponds to opposing centralized government power. The moral duty of America therefore remains to remodel the world similar to itself and politicians advance a belief of America as 'Gods Country' and the Chosen Nation, to achieve the publics' support (Preston, 2012). This thesis would agree with Lipset (1996), Hughes (2004), Jackson (2005), Ivie (2007) and Preston (2012) up to a point on the notion that American myths continue to galvanize American public opinion to support American foreign policy initiatives.

These scholars neglect to examine that they may also be used to inhibit American foreign policy action and this is often ignored. This thesis will establish *why* American religious myths possess moral influence and the necessary criteria for these myths to be utilized within binary constructions of otherness. It will also reveal that prior to foreign policy initiatives being conceived after a unique 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has the capability to define the boundaries for the patriotic discourse.

Eisenach (2000) refers to 'moral orientation' as a way of acknowledging that American religious identity is not a fixed concept it evolves and is influenced by the political theologians of the era. The neutral language 'moral orientation' Eisenach (2000) adopts reflects his phenomenological approach to his work, and hence the thesis finds this more useful. Interestingly, there are times throughout this analysis when the presidential rhetoric has adopted 'righteousness' as a way of presenting 'moral justice' (justice, in the sense of doing what is right morally). Examples of using righteousness for the sake of inaction are available in the deconstruction of Wilson's presidential rhetoric, Chapter Five and Carter's presidential rhetoric, Chapter Seven.

Hughes (2004) examines the American myths, which he designates as 'The Myth of the Chosen Nation', 'The Myth of Nature's Nation', 'The Myth of the Christian Nation', 'The Myth of the Millennial Nation', 'The Mythic Dimensions of American Capitalism', and 'The Myth of the Innocent Nation'. Several religious myths will be under scrutiny within the presidential rhetoric analysis including the Myth of Origin, Chosen People/Nation, Nature's Nation, and the myth of the Innocent Nation. The value of scrutinizing American myths lies in their continual use in America's tradition to reflect the exceptionalism of the nation and that they implicitly signify the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Jackson (2005: 35) proposes that the 'sacralising language' used at all levels of the Bush administration post 9/11 was to create 'a myth of exceptional grievance'. It is contended that Jackson's (2005) notion of 'exceptional grievance' means something very different than the 'rhetoric of otherness' and this will be considered in the following section.

Hughes outlines the value of mythologizing the experience within a heterogeneous society:

a myth is a story that speaks of meaning and purpose, and for that reason it speaks truth to those who take it seriously...a story that conveys commonly shared convictions on the purposes and the meaning of the nation (Hughes, 2004: 2).

The idea that each myth reflects the story of 'who Americans are' connects and resonates with Frankl's (2000) notion that 'individuals make sense of who they are' through their life story. Campbell (1988) and Crocker (2010) demonstrate the ability of religious myths to deliver a story that can be interpreted by all sectors of society from the religious fundamentalist to the atheist.

As if confirmation were still needed, Estes highlights the importance of myths for instruction:

... myths, and stories provide understandings which sharpen our sight so that we can pick out and pick up the path ... The instruction found in story reassures us that the path has not run out,

*but still leads women³⁶ deeper, and more deeply
still, into their own knowing (Estes, 1992: 6).*

The idea of examining religious myths for this thesis may have come to the fore with the reading of Hughes (2004) nonetheless, it was tracing his work back to Bellah (1976, 1992) that inspired this thesis to appreciate the value of interpretation. See Chapter Two for greater elucidation on the value of interpretative analysis and what it has the ability to reveal. Bellah states:

*In using the word 'myth,' I do not mean to suggest
a story that is not true. Myth does not attempt to
describe reality; that is the job of science. Myth seeks
rather to transfigure reality so that it provides moral
and spiritual meaning to individual or societies.
Myths, like scientific theories, may be true or false,
but the test of truth or falsehood is different (Bellah, 1992: 3).*

Campbell (1988), Bellah (1992), Estes (1992), Eisenach (2000), Hughes (2004) and Crocker (2010) have in common their propositions of the way in which myths have the ability to transfer meaning with respect to morality. The way in which 'political theologians' (Eisenach, 2000) choose to use their rhetoric and how it is disseminated to the public for the purposes of conveying the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) becomes the focus of the analysis.

Prior to any analysis, which follows in Chapter Five to Chapter Eight, there is

³⁶ Estes (1992) documents the significance of particular myths for women to understand their instinctive nature however she clearly indicates that different myths perform the same purpose for men. The significance for this work is that she confirms the way in which myths have the ability to provide meaning to people.

the requirement to outline the link between these American myths and constructions of otherness.

American myths:

The myth of the Chosen People which has been transformed into the Chosen Nation, remains intertwined within the American myth of Origin and therefore that is the starting point for this consideration. The word 'America' itself holds its own mythical meanings. Locke (1690: sec 49) in the seventeenth century stated: 'In the beginning all the world was America'. Bellah (1992) suggests that the 'paradise' alluded originally to Columbus' description of the native people of America, describing their natural lifestyle (as a lack of need for clothing, and innocence) and their hospitableness (as a willingness to share everything, a bountiful supply of food). These ideas correlated with the concept of Eden and gave rise to the concept of an Adamic rebirth when becoming an American. Later, Locke (1690: sec 2) confirmed these notions when describing America as a 'state of nature' as 'a State of Peace, Goodwill, Mutual Assistance, and Preservation'. Bellah (1992) proposes that the 'state of nature' was used by European explorers to map out the 'paradise' and 'wilderness' to explain the experience of their dreams and nightmares.

Bellah (1992: 5) proposes that the newness was so fundamental to the way in which America was conceived 'new' by the European explorers it was conceived in a primordial and pure sense: 'newness from the hands of God'. This newness of America, remains a prominent image from original European explorers to twenty-first century American public, and has been characterized within the notions of 'paradise' and 'wilderness'.

Bellah (1992) highlights the 'wilderness' conception also from a more Hobbesian outlook in which it was the descriptions concerned with barren deserts, insurmountable mountains, floods, hurricanes and polar extremes in temperatures that took precedence. The native people of America were within this precept described as 'horrid savages' committed to murder, rape and cannibalism. The extent to which the concept of 'wilderness' was utilized held no bounds Bellah states:

*Indians were described as spending the time left
over from murder, plunder, and rapine in the
barbaric worship of a vast array of demons, chief
of whom was the devil himself' (Bellah, 1992: 9).*

The mythical imagery available by using the term America created a dichotomy of signifiers of 'good' and 'evil'. The religious myth of American Origin and the way that it incorporates concepts of 'paradise' and 'wilderness' is worth considering further. The symbolism of the 'wilderness' like that of 'paradise' has religious connotations and conjures up images of rebirth and

renewal. Campbell (1984) argues that the Other confronts Otherness during an exigency experience of life-against-death. Campbell (1984) clarifies this by asserting that the exigence of Otherness is infused with a tension created by the eternal appeal and eternal apprehension of the Other. Bellah (1992) argues that when considered in conjunction with the historical era of the Reformation and the colonization of the 'new' world the 'wilderness' gains added mythological importance. The 'wilderness' was used in the Bible to signify renewal, for example Christ's forty days in the wilderness prior to his baptism implies the need for purification and renewal before embarking on his ministry. Bellah (1992) further describes numerous examples to emphasize the importance of the 'wilderness' as a metaphor for terrifying times, prior to 'paradise' being achievable. The tension between these polar conceptions demonstrates the way in which 'otherness' permeates the myth.

Religious myths played an important role in creating opinions and ideas in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when literate Americans would have been well-versed in the Bible (Ibid). These religious myths continue to be symbolised within images, imagery, metaphor and narratives found in American cultural, social and political forms throughout twentieth century and into current times. The people and/or institutions imparting these myths, Eisenach's (2000) 'political theologians' have changed and arguably who has the ear of the American public may be dependent upon the media age and the rhetorical situation being examined. Bellah states that his purpose in analysing these myths was to demonstrate:

*the ways in which biblical (and other) imagery
has operated powerfully, consciously and unconsciously,
to shape the American interpretation of reality and
to some extent the actions of Americans in the world
(Bellah, 1992: 13).*

Bellah's (1992) scholarly work delivers examples of the way myths and images have been used throughout history to underpin first biblical and later political theology to promote social and cultural arguments and political causes. Bellah (1976, 1992) detailed Biblical understanding of myths combined with his political insights allow for a valuable understanding to what the myths refer and how they have been used to meet the challenges throughout America's political history. This thesis utilizes the work of Bellah (1976, 1992) and Hughes (2004) to illustrate why these myths have the ability to answer *why* the attacks occurred and *how* 'good' patriotic Americans needed to respond.

Hughes (2004) charts the progression of American settlers undertaking a covenant with the Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, defines that covenant:

*Thus stands the cause between God and us.
Wee are entered into Covenant with him for this
worke, wee have taken out a Commission, the
Lord hath given us leave to draw our owne Articles,
...wee must be knit together in this worke as one*

*man, wee must entertine each other in brotherly
 Affeccion, wee must be willing to abridge our selves
 of our superfluities, ... soe shall wee keepe the unitie
 of the spirit in the bond peace, the Lord will be our
 God and delight to dwell among us as his owne
 people and will command a blessing ... 'Wee shall finde
 that the God of Israell is among us' (Winthrop, 1630).³⁷*

To appreciate the covenant myth it is worth examining the end of the original message. The eternal 'other' was also included, Winthrop ends with:

*But if our heartes shall turne away soe that wee will
 not obey, but shall be seduced and worship ... other
 Gods, our pleasures, and profits, and serve them;
 it is propounded unto us this day, wee shall surely
 perishe out of the good Land...(Winthrop, 1630)*

Winthrop (1630) was using religious imagery to characterize the enormous hopes and fears of colonists. These emotions were being stimulated through tensions of the 'promise land' or 'perishe', demonstrating how the concept of the 'other' was continually portrayed. Over time in the colonies the symbol of the covenant came to be recognized as the concept of chosenness. Hughes (2004) suggests several reasons for this. Initially, the New England Puritans considered that Protestants had achieved nothing more than reform, while only they had successfully re-established the ancient church. Moreover, Hughes (2004) points out that New England Puritans realized their

³⁷ Original speech of Winthrop's found in Cherry, Conrad ed. (1998) 'John Winthrop, A Modell of Christian Charity', in *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretation of American Destiny*, Revised. Ed. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press p. 37-41.

geographical and spiritual isolation. As a consequence it galvanized their feeling as a chosen people. Perhaps most importantly, was the continual correlation made between England and Ancient Israel. The Puritans encouraged this correlation. Hughes states:

*In the Puritan imagination, England became
Egypt, the Atlantic Ocean became the Red Sea,
the American wilderness became their own
land of Canaan, and the Puritans themselves
became the new Israel (Hughes, 2004: 30).*

The sentiment that the people of New England were chosen by God for a unique calling in the world strengthened over time and ultimately became essential to the greater American vision. Lipset (1996) identifies this as America's religious exceptionalism. Hughes (2004) concurs with Lipset on this idea and indicates it has been influential for one basic reason: the Puritans communicated a clear, powerful, and persuasive story with which a multitude of immigrants could empathize. Numerous immigrants to the new land from across the world recognized this powerful story and assumed it as though it were their own. In so doing, Hughes (2004) insists, the myth of the Chosen Nation became an enduring feature of the American consciousness. This thesis would argue that the ability for it to be utilized within a conception of otherness remains dependent on the rhetorical situation,

These examples demonstrate that the precepts for the myths American Origin that characterized 'paradise' or 'wilderness' and the Chosen Nation which emphasized 'promise land' or 'perishe', which were not merely constructions of difference they were constructions of 'otherness'. Consequently, from the very outset these myths were being used to provoke a religious moral orientation. The myth of Nature's Nation will now be examined to highlight this further.

At first glance the myth of Nature's Nation would appear to have nothing to do with religion nevertheless it was a product of its time and requires closer examination. Hughes (2004) uses the term Nature and Nature's God in explaining Thomas Jefferson's Deistic beliefs and the importance of these in relation to the Declaration of Independence. In composing the Declaration of Independence Jefferson obtained a passage from Herbert of Cherbury and unrelated Deistic scholars and based America's Independence centrally within a Deistic understanding. 'Nature's God' relates to the 'self-evident truths that 'all men' are created equal [and] ... are endowed by their *Creator*', namely, the God every person can recognise through nature (Hughes, 2004, p 53)³⁸. The notion also corresponds to an earlier concept that 'America' the place, was created 'from the hands of God' (Bellah, 1992: 5). These concepts and their value in appealing to the public's moral orientation were appreciated by Jefferson, and he also endorsed the imagery (through the seal) to maintain signifiers for such concepts. In The Declaration of Independence Jefferson

³⁸ Italics in Hughes (2004) it is not in the original.

(1776) as a 'political theologian' (Eisenach, 2000) was creating boundaries for understanding why Americans were a 'chosen people'.. Jefferson wrote:

*We hold these Truths to be self-evident ... all Men
are created equal, that they are endowed by their
Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among
these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness
(Declaration of Independence, 1776).*

As a consequence of the way America was conceived prior to being established by the Forefathers on the ideal of 'Nature and Nature's God' it appears simple to envisage that settlers considered that this revealed the way God himself meant for things to evolve from the outset of the world (Hughes, 2004). Thomas Paine, a close friend of Thomas Jefferson, expanded upon that ideal in a speech. Paine stated:

*the case and circumstances of America present
themselves as in the beginning of the world
We are brought at once to the point of seeing
government begin, as if we had lived in the beginning
of time. The real volume, not of history, but of facts,
is directly before us, unmutated by contrivance, or
the errors of tradition³⁹ (Hughes, 2004, p 56).*

³⁹ Paine, Thomas (1791-2) *Rights of Man*, (ed.) Foner, Philip S. (1945) *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, New York: Citadel Press, p 367.

This goes to the heart of the myth, which allows a transcendental understanding of America as a nation unaffected by man's history and tradition. America was considered a nation of God's creation. Consequently, Hughes (2004) points out, at the very essence of this myth sits the concept that American identity did not emanate from either, British culture and tradition, or from Greece and Rome, but rather from nature, fashioned personally from the Creator. In this particular historical context Jefferson (1776) pursued these ideals as justification for the right of the colonies to sever their political ties with Britain. Americans were authorized, indeed it was their moral right their 'life', 'liberty' and 'freedom' derived from 'the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God' (Hughes, 2004).

This myth has been used throughout American history to convey two fundamentally different meanings. When Jefferson referred to 'life, liberty and ... happiness' it was based on the Hobbesian view proffered through John Locke, namely, the utilitarian principle for understanding motivation (Bellah, 1976). Motivation within the utilitarian understanding was that of 'interest' while in the biblical tradition it was perceived as 'conscience'. The utilitarian tradition maintained that individuals pursuing their personal 'interest' would enrich themselves as individuals and as a consequence the community would benefit. Alternatively, the biblical tradition proposed that individuals motivated by their personal 'conscience' would place the community needs as their central tenet and all individual members would prosper as a result of the community prospering (Bellah, 1976).

The myth of Nature's Nation obscured these contradictions through the presentation that 'liberty' could deliver 'earthly rewards as well as heavenly [rewards] for virtuous actions' (Ibid: 336). These two divergent world outlooks continue to be signified within this myth into twenty-first century America. The myth of Nature's Nation like that of the Myth of Origin and the myth of the Chosen Nation all convey diametrically opposed concepts – otherness – the myth allows the individual hearing it to reinforce either utilitarian or biblical concepts of liberty and motivation. The ability for that phrase to create meaning can only be fully appreciated by considering the audience members underlying values and the rhetorical situation in which it was delivered.

The ability for specific words, for example 'freedom', to communicate religious and utilitarian principles at the same time relates to the way in which these principles have acquired their own mythological understanding throughout America's history. Bellah (1976) proposes that a fundamental precept of utilitarian individualism was 'freedom' and equally 'freedom' was a biblical term. Consequently, when 'freedom' continues to be used within rhetoric it has the ability to create different meanings, from the utilitarian viewpoint 'freedom' pertains to the individual freedom to pursue personal ambitions with no concern or consideration for community values. Alternatively, 'freedom' within a biblical understanding, pertains to emancipation from the effects of sin, possible redemption, and may be considered synonymous with virtue. The

way in which freedom has been used and the connotations it evokes will be further illustrated in Chapter Five to Chapter Eight⁴⁰.

Hughes (2004) also outlines the myth of the Innocent Nation, which he and Bellah (1992) propose emerged in the twentieth century as the consequence of all the other myths. To a great extent Hughes (2004) suggests, the myth of the Innocent Nation continues to be the most compelling myth. It does not refer to any worthwhile story according to Hughes, as it is based on self-delusion, and emerges around WWII with the attack on Pearl Harbor. The myth of the Innocent Nation is discussed further in Chapter Six while analysing Roosevelt's (1942) 'State of the Union' address.

The purpose of delivering such a detailed synopsis of these American myths stems from the notion of 'otherness' that remains central to this thesis. This synopsis reveals that the American myths have at their most fundamental level, the notion that American identity originates from the hand of God and it is the 'promised-land'. Consequently, within rhetorical situations in which the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has particular sway these myths would convey meaningful narratives. It could be argued that these myths signify to the people who believe in them (either from utilitarian or biblical understandings) a moral direction for the way to behave. When this is considered in conjunction with Rokkan and Urwin's (1983) concept of identity

⁴⁰ See also Marsden, Lee (2008) *For God's Sake*, particularly pp. 85 -116 for possible Religious Right interpretations of 'freedom' from examples of presidential speeches.

and the significance of myth within that definition, the ability for American myths to transcend individuals and generations becomes all the more real.

This thesis suggests that presidential rhetoric containing myths based on constructions of otherness have the capability to reveal to the American public the *why* and *how* exposition. This exposition may indicate why Americans find it difficult to refute presidential rhetoric during such periods. Indeed, it may suggest that to speak out against the American government is equivalent to speaking out against God and what God has decided it means to be American. Ergo, one is un-American. As a consequence, these myths when used within specific conditions, which the following section will delineate, have the capacity to perpetuate an inherent understanding of the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). It is therefore necessary to examine presidential rhetoric to understand the way in which religious myths have been used after attacks, and if the circumstances around the event affect their ability to deliver meaning for the experience.

RHETORIC OF OTHERNESS:

Engnell (1993) asserts that theistic religion and rhetoric are intimately linked, as most are operating within customs of Western culture that have been exceptionally influenced by both theism and rhetoric. The way in which these myths have been utilized throughout history seems to corroborate Engnell's

notion. Nevertheless, it needs to be considered alongside Otto's (1973) necessary requirements for the 'rhetoric of otherness' (understood as a binary opposite) to be effective, namely: bewilderment or utter amazement; awe and 'demonic dread'; and wonderment and gloriousness. This would suggest that myths cannot be used excessively and still hold sway. Engnell's (1993) suggestion that the Other in mystical spirituality tends to put forward a transitional Otherness that may be prominent or recede into the background depending on the circumstances of the being thus corroborating Otto's (1973) theory. This would indicate that during periods of stability and security the 'rhetoric of otherness' would hold insignificant influence in arousing American religious identity.

This thesis adopts an approach that argues that constructions of otherness may have differing meanings (as binary opposites or relative differences) and these meanings can be identified by critically analysing the rhetoric and the rhetorical exigencies from which it emanates. This will be achieved by examining the rhetorical event, the social and cultural era in which the event transpired, the media available for portraying the event and disseminating the presidential rhetoric which resulted from the event and the President and his relationship with his speechwriters.

Derrida (1982) questions the suitability of thinking about otherness in binary terms, and exemplifies his view with the words *difference* and *différance*.

Stuart Hall (1990) asserts Derrida used *difference/différance* to impart new

meanings without expunging the *trace* of its original meanings. Derrida (1982) asserts that the two words may sound the same when spoken, or not depending upon the speaker and the audience, nevertheless clarifying which meaning is valid requires examining both the text and the context of the language. Hall (1990) contends Derrida's (1982) difference/*différance* questions the fixed binaries, which secure meaning and representation and illustrate how meaning is at no time concluded or finalised, but is a continually moving feast gathering fresh or supplementary meanings. This thesis argues that Derrida's (1982) concept of difference/*différance* allows for the constructions of otherness available within American myths to signify either binary opposites or relative differences which are discernible through an examination of individual addresses.

Derrida (2001, 2003) continues to reiterate the ability for meaning to be dependent upon the situation and the circumstances of the rhetorical event. For example Derrida (2003) described his first impression after 9/11:

'Something' took place, we have the feeling of not having seen it coming, and certain consequences undeniably follow upon the 'thing'. But this very thing, the place and meaning of this 'event', remains ineffable, like an intuition without a concept, like a unicity with no generality on the horizon or with no horizon at all out of range for a language that admits its powerlessness (Derrida, 2003: 86).

In so far as Derrida (Ibid) suggests that the attack of 9/11 remains indefinable permanently and will create or capture meaning from the position of the individual endeavouring to create or capture that meaning this thesis would concur. A useful way to explain this is that anyone who experienced the event that day via television or the Internet participated in the trauma. The generations who watch the footage of the attacks now or in the future will not necessarily appreciate the contextual fear and total incredulity that the experience created at the time and during the weeks that followed. Equally the influence of religious myths today for describing the event would be of little or no value, because the demands of the rhetorical situation have changed totally.

Nevertheless, by adopting a rhetorical critic approach for the analysis of Bush's initial rhetoric, this thesis would suggest it is possible to delineate *why* the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) could be utilized for the purpose of defining the boundaries for the patriotic discourse post 9/11. Arguably, by examining presidential rhetoric post event, through a specific lens allows for a nuanced understanding of the available meanings within these defined limits.

In considering 9/11 Derrida (2003) further states:

*Although the experience of an event, the mode
according to which it affects us, calls for a movement*

of appropriation (comprehension, recognition, identification, description, determination, interpretation, and so on), although this movement of appropriation is irreducible and ineluctable, there is no event worthy of the name except insofar as this appropriation falters at some border or frontier (Derrida, 2003: 90).

This thesis argues that what Derrida refers to as the ‘appropriation’, what is being defined in this thesis as the *why* and *how* exposition, acquires its relevance at the faltering stage. The idea ‘*falters* at some border or frontier’ describes beautifully the concept of ‘otherness’ and arguably these borders or frontiers would be proportionate to the rhetorical situation and the status of the rhetoric. The status of the rhetoric for the purposes of this thesis refers to the timing of the rhetoric in relation to the event and the exigencies from which the rhetoric was derived. For example, 9/11 created rhetorical demands that continue to date, and therefore it continues to be important in any examination to delineate the specific rhetorical exigencies that the presidential rhetoric being analysed refers. This thesis agrees with Derrida (2003) that the concept of ‘appropriation’ has the capacity to change and transform over time. Nevertheless it could be suggested that when the populace was in the midst of the trauma (a traumatized state) the ‘rhetoric of otherness’ (Otto, 1973) had the capability to express the *why* and *how* exposition such that the American public gained a consistent understanding of how patriotic Americans needed to respond. It would in turn be dependent upon the circumstances of the

rhetorical situation and the ability for the populace to share in the experience (trauma) of the respective situation.

This will be emphasized by examining previous Presidents after unique seminal events. The analytical approach adopted and the narrow lens through which the initial presidential rhetoric after the unique attack is being examined will create a consistent understanding of *why* and *how* the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has been utilized after the event.

The value of using this narrow time frame after the event is that it allows for a consistent approach that will differentiate the various ways that religious myths can be harnessed for arousing constructions of otherness (binary or degrees of difference) after rhetorical events. The thesis will illustrate that the circumstances surrounding the rhetorical event and the way the American public experienced the event has had an associated affect on the way presidential rhetoric has been utilized to define the boundaries for promoting the patriotic discourse. The analysis of Wilson's (1915) speech in Chapter Five and Carter's (1979a) speech in Chapter Seven exemplify that constructions of otherness espoused through religious myths have not always resulted in the absolutist imperative of American Exceptionalism (Lipset, 1996, Gentile, 2001, Noll, 2012). Chapter Six, which scrutinizes Roosevelt's (1941b, 1942) addresses will focus attention on who was 'othered' and the rhetorical demands that enabled the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to be used for such purposes. After unique rhetorical situations such as the terrorist attacks

on 9/11 the American public are neither stable nor secure and consequently the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has a significant role in summoning American religious identity.

Various academics have worked towards understanding the role played by the 'rhetoric of otherness' in arousing religious identity. Several scholars, Otto (1973)⁴¹, Eliade (1957), and Van der Leeuw (1986), have all been interested in otherness as a means for discerning the core of *all* religious experiences (Engnell, 1993). Engnell (ibid) illustrates his thoughts in 'Otherness in Rhetorical Exigencies of Theistic Religion', in which he delivers a diverse and wide ranging way for understanding the 'rhetoric of otherness', and suggests it is relevant as all the Abrahamic faiths are monotheistic.

This thesis will be extracting the academic views on the required situations and circumstances necessary for otherness to have an impact on arousing religious identity. Once that is accomplished it will be possible to explain how these circumstances can be equally used to summon American religious identity within an understanding that equates religious identity with the sense of moral orientation or moral direction. Consequently, the purpose of examining the aforementioned scholars' work is to utilize their ideas around the 'rhetoric of otherness', but from a different perspective on religious identity.

⁴¹ Otto, Rudolph (1973) The original publication was 1923, and the 1973 version is a reprint of the 1958 2nd edition. Its significance stems from the fact that at the beginning of the twenty-first century scholars continue to quote Otto.

The literature around the 'rhetoric of otherness' has at its core 'the other'.

Rudolph Otto defines the Other within religion as:

*that which is quite beyond the sphere of the usual,
the intelligible, and the familiar, which therefore
falls quite outside the limits of the 'canny', and is
contrasted with it (Otto, 1973: 12)*

Otto's (1973) notion of the Other is dynamic, and includes three parts: the *mysterium*, *tremendum*, and *fascinans*. Individually the terms reveal a unique sense of the Other, while at the same time attainable in each other through an extraordinary occurrence or observation (Ibid). Otto (1973: 13) describes the concept of *mysterium*: 'Conceptually, *mysterium* denotes merely that which is hidden and esoteric, that which is beyond conception or understanding, extraordinary and unfamiliar'. The type of reaction expected from a *mysterium* experience would be incredulity, utter bewilderment, or sheer amazement. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 are an excellent example of an event that causes incredulity and utter bewilderment. Watching it unfold on the television screen, one could be forgiven for thinking they had just turned on a Stephen Spielberg film, being too surreal to be true. Whilst this type of reaction may be experienced by all sorts of occurrences, the religious response is attained only when both *tremendum* and *fascinans* are experienced at the same time.

The notion of *tremendum* Otto (1973: 13/14) elucidates as an occurrence that is reflected in the emotions of 'awe', or 'demonic dread', rather than an experience that creates a typical fear. Otto (*ibid*) goes on to explain that it is the complete overwhelming nature of the occurrence, the dominance of the Other that produces the awe and dread. The 9/11 example continues to be relevant. The symbolism of the most powerful city in the world, New York, with the most powerful financial sector in the world, situated in some of the most iconic architectural structures in world, and the entire world watching those structures disintegrate, caused a huge sense of awe and dread.

The third component required, the *fascinans*, this is virtually at the opposite end of the emotional scale. Consequently, the occurrence or experience necessary for the 'rhetoric of otherness' to be influential triggers not only a demonic dread, but at the same time a sense of 'wonderfulness and rapture which lies in the mysterious beatific experience of deity' (Otto, 1973: 17). This may not seem obvious immediately, but for the survivors of the 9/11 atrocities, and their families, survival was often attributed in wonderment to some mysterious workings of a higher force. Whilst never questioning the horror for all who lost their lives on that fateful day, the fact that anyone survived the twin towers collapsing was often characterized as a miraculous event.

Campbell (1984) argues that the Other confronts Otherness during an exigency experience of life-against-death. Campbell (1984) clarifies this by asserting that the exigence of Otherness is infused with a tension created by

the eternal appeal and eternal apprehension of the Other. Engnell (1993) elaborates on this, the Other as *mysterium* also contains within itself an anxiety that will have extremely important rhetorical effects, an anxiety which can be explained by examining terminology such as 'the sacred' and 'transcendence'. A very simplistic explanation is that: 'The sacred is this worldly, the transcendent other-worldly, but each depends on the other for its character' (Thurman, 1981: 105).

The reason for discussing the Other and its confrontation with Otherness is relevant because Otherness is utilized within rhetoric that summons religious identity. Indeed, Otto when he first published his work in 1923 proposed his reasoning for equating the 'numinous' experience to a religious experience was because no psychoanalyst had described an equivalent spiritual experience that could occur outside religion. This thesis would suggest that is no longer the case.

Frankl (2000) proposes a secular reading for understanding a 'numinous' experience in which the Other has a confrontation with Otherness. The significance of Frankl's (2000) example is that the circumstances in which the 'numinous' experience occurred fulfil Otto's (1973) criteria for such an experience to take place. Frankl (2000) describes the circumstances in great detail however for the purposes of thesis these will be summarized. Frankl (2000) was experiencing total incredulity, he was a prisoner of Auschwitz and constantly witnessing people being tortured and killed at the whim of warders

and therefore in permanent fear for his life. Frankl's (2000) descriptions of Auschwitz highlight that his experience was one of demonic dread as the scale of the extermination testified. Despite this Frankl (2000) constructs a lavish description regarding the ability of nature to stir emotions aligned to miraculous wonderment. Frankl describes a numinous experience:

... we were at work in a trench. The dawn was grey around us; grey was the sky above; grey the snow in the pale light of dawn; grey the rags in which my fellow prisoners were clad, and grey their faces. ... I was struggling to find the reason for my sufferings, my slow dying. In the last violent protest against the hopelessness of imminent death, I sensed my spirit piercing through the enveloping gloom. I felt it transcend that hopeless, meaningless world, and from somewhere I heard a victorious 'Yes' in answer to my question of the existence of an ultimate purpose. At that moment a light was lit in a distant farmhouse, which stood on the horizon as if painted there, in the midst of the miserable grey of a dawning morning in Bavaria. 'Et Lux in tenebris lucet' – and the light shineth in the darkness. ... I communed with my beloved
(Frankl, 2000: 52).

Frankl (2000) in that instance was talking about communing with his wife, and not literally, rather as a spiritual, a mystical or numinous experience. In this example Frankl (2000) was in a situation which complied with Otto's (1973)

criteria for the 'rhetoric of otherness' to assume great intensity. The horror of Auschwitz created the circumstances for Frankl (2000) to experience first-hand a 'numinous' experience that was not a religious experience in the common understanding of the term. Academia benefits because Frankl's psychoanalytical background, which enabled him to describe the secular numinous experience.

Frankl's (2000) example is valuable for two reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates that the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) has the ability to arouse a numinous experience, within an understanding that numinous may be described as an inner morally enriching event. Secondly, Frankl (2000) adds somewhat later in his work that listening to stories, narratives and images of the atrocities continued to act as a powerful reminder of that experience. This would suggest that American religious myths (stories and narratives) which are based on the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) would deliver powerful reminders of the rhetorical situation and would at the same time signify *why* the rhetorical situation occurred and *how* the American public needed to respond.

CONCLUSION:

This chapter encapsulates the essence of the underlying critical analysis which will be undertaken when examining presidential rhetoric, namely, the way in which religious myths were used. The chapter has revealed the complicated interrelationship between American myths, American moral identity and the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Arguably, it is only by fully appreciating this dynamic relationship that the way in which the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) answers the *why* and *how* exposition becomes apparent.

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate the way in which myths have the capacity to impart meaning at various levels of understanding. The common denominator for all of the scholars examined when considering how myths work is that they all highlight the importance of the myth being a story (true or not) that imparts a message or messages in which individuals and communities identify themselves. The ambiguity within the 'story' means that it can encompass a multitude of meanings, conveyed through various levels of understanding. Rokkan and Unwin (1983) confirmed this notion and argue that myths and symbols communicate that sense of shared knowledge and visceral understanding.

Furthermore, the chapter scrutinized American myths and illustrated their fundamental precepts of otherness that had been established throughout America's history. The myths all embodied notions of 'otherness' and always through binary opposites: 'paradise' vs. 'wilderness', 'promised land' vs.

'perishe', and 'good' vs. 'evil'. The examination of the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) delineated the criteria necessary for constructions of the other to possess influence. Finally, Frankl's (2000) non-religious spiritual experience corroborates the usefulness of Otto's (1973) concept within a secular reading of numinous, mystical and morally enriching experience.

This last point highlights the significance of examining the rhetorical event, how the nation experienced the event and what presidential rhetoric was utilized to meet the demands of that situation. The live media broadcasting of the 9/11 attacks enabled Americans and the global public alike to share in the trauma of the event. It was that participation in the experience that created a situation in which the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) used in presidential rhetoric assumed influence.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHANGING ENVIRONMENT FOR

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITERS

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter will examine critically the influence of presidential speechwriters on presidential rhetoric and how that has been influenced by the transformation of media technology. A detailed examination of the position and the role speechwriters play in creating and the dissemination of presidential rhetoric, will show why presidential rhetoric is far more than simply the words uttered by the President. The changing nature in the position of presidential speechwriter during the twentieth century highlights their significance with regard to Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. This chapter will reflect upon that changing role and the significance of the speechwriter in relation to understanding presidential rhetoric.

The presidential speechwriter's relationship with presidential rhetoric can only be understood by examining the specific circumstances surrounding any presidential utterance. The pressures from the changing media technology and, as a result, the requirement for additional presidential utterances, created a situation in which the role of the speechwriter was both a necessity and an evolutionary process during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. President Woodrow Wilson for example, from the 6th May 1915 until the State of the Union Address 1916 made nine public speeches, which would have been witnessed by small groups of people and made available to the wider public only if printed in the local or regional newspapers. Alternatively, George W.

Bush delivered twenty public speeches in the first week following 9/11⁴², the vast majority of which were presented to a worldwide audience via television and the Internet.

Schlesinger (2008) insists that the role of the speechwriter really only became important with the creation of the radio and the rise of mass media.

Schlesinger illustrates this by using only (the first) four pages of his work, *White House Ghosts*, to detail the significance of speechwriters from the presidential periods of George Washington to Herbert Hoover⁴³. Nelson (2010), whilst not disagreeing with Schlesinger (2008), asserts the most useful way to consider speechwriters, is to think about their changing relationships with Presidents during different periods of history. Nelson's (2010) classification of speechwriters divides into three eras: 1st 1901-1933 the rise of the specialist speechwriter and the rhetorical presidency; 2nd 1933-1969 the age of the adviser-speechwriter; and 3rd 1969 - currently, the age of the speechwriter expert. These time frames loosely correlate with the transformative nature of the evolving media communications. Nelson's (2010) tri-era presidential speechwriter approach appears framed by the different eras of media development that are generally reflected within his timeframes. Nevertheless, this chapter identifies that Nelson's (2010) tri-era model, whilst

⁴² This figure has been calculated by counting the number of speeches recorded by Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. (eds.) (2011) *The American Presidency Project*, Santa Barbara, Ca. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws>, Wilson (1915, 1916) was accessed on: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?month=&year=1915> and <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?month=&year=1916> and Bush (Sept, 2001) on: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?month=09&year=2001>. [accessed 15 March 2011].

⁴³ Schlesinger's book (paperback version) is 579 pages. Schlesinger uses the first four pages to describe the presidential speechwriter role for the first 30 presidents.

useful for structuring purposes, is far too simplistic and negates the historical facts which continually highlight President and speechwriter relationships which do not fit the model.

The chapter commences by exploring a suitable framework for understanding the relationship between the President and presidential speechwriters. It then examines the transition from President Wilson, who wrote his own speeches, to the first twentieth century professional speechwriters. This will be followed by considering the cultural circumstances within the United States, which required the relationship between the President and the speechwriter to evolve. Nevertheless, some Presidents were better equipped to work in partnership with their speechwriters. This will be exemplified by examining the relationship Roosevelt and Carter achieved with their respective speechwriters. The chapter concludes with the illustration of Bush's association with his aides and highlights the significance of the presidential speechwriter within presidential rhetoric.

Relationship Framework:

The understanding gleaned from the historical evidence provided by Medhurst (2003), Schlesinger (2008) and Nelson (2010) would appear to indicate that the foremost factor for explaining the way Presidents interact with their speechwriters has to do with the personality of the individual President. So, while Nelson's (2010) tri-era model for 'types' of speechwriters is useful in the

sense that it illustrates the general differences between eras of speechwriters, it is an over-generalization. This chapter while noting the transformation of presidential rhetoric through the different media ages appears at one level to corroborate Nelson's (2010) tri-era model for 'types' of speechwriters. However, even at the level of the media lens, Nelson's (2010) model requires reconsideration.

Nelson's (2010) deterministic reasoning for the tri-era model, with the third era beginning around 1969 and continuing during contemporary times, relies on the massive increase in media communications. In so far as it goes, that reasoning is valid, however, it fails to take into account the significance of the President's own personality. It also fails to appreciate that since the beginning of the twenty-first century it is not merely the increase in the requirement for presidential speeches, but the capabilities for media coverage of significant events which places different demands on President and speechwriter relationships. The changing media technology affects the rhetorical demands of any situation and the presidential rhetoric used to meet such demands. For example, the 1995 Oklahoma Bombing, when neither America nor the rest of the world witnessed the bombing, it allowed Clinton and his speechwriter's flexibility for constructing the first address to the nation after that event.

The imagery from the aftermath and rescue operation created the 'CNN effect' despite which, though shocked, the American nation was not traumatized by the event. This may indicate that since the inception of instantaneous news,

with hand held camera and video recorders incorporated within telephones being commonplace, another category of speechwriter is necessary⁴⁴. A consideration on the categories is outside of the remit of this chapter, however it will be examined within a different paper.

This chapter will incorporate the media age alongside Nelson's (2010) tri-era model for the purpose of structuring the chapter, but the relationship between the President and the speechwriter is far more complex. The chapter reveals that to understand fully the relationship between the President and the speechwriters different factors require consideration. These factors include: the personality of the President; the historical era in which the President resides; the nature of any 'rhetorical situations' (Bitzer, 1968) experienced during the term of office; and the available media technology and the limitations and opportunities that creates. Therefore, Nelson's (2010) deterministic tri-era model is useful as a structuring tool, and alongside the media period it will be used encompassing the factors just outlined as necessary to understand the relationship between the President and his⁴⁵ speechwriters.

⁴⁴ In 1995, only 13% of the US public owned mobile telephones consumer digital cameras were only just being launched, and video cameras were still large and cumbersome (Shapiro, 2006).
Cell Phone History (2008) <http://hubpages.com/hub/US-Cell-Phones-Usage> [accessed 01 December 2009].
Digital Camera (2008) <http://inventors.about.com/library/inventors/b/digitalcamera.htm> [accessed 01 December 2009].

⁴⁵ I will borrow Neustadt's (1990) argument that while currently the male gender is accurate for the President, it is hoped this will not always be the case.

THE RISE OF THE SPECIALIST SPEECHWRITER:

Print and President as Speechwriter:

*I wish there were some great orator who would go
about and make men drunk with this spirit of self-sacrifice.
I wish there were some man whose tongue might every day
carry abroad the gold accents of that creative age in which
we were born a nation; accents which would ring like tones
of reassurance around the whole circle of the globe
(Woodrow Wilson 1909).*

Kraig (2004) notes that in 1909 Wilson, while President of Princeton University, delivered a speech on the courageous and equitable public service of Robert E. Lee. The above quote originates from Wilson's peroration of that speech and is relevant for various reasons. Clements (1992), Thompson (2002) and Kraig (2004) all claim that Wilson always wrote his own speeches and recognized the importance of language and oratorical skill in the delivery of speeches. The historical context of the speech Thompson (2002) described as, Wilson being in conflict with the Princeton University Trustees at the time of delivering the speech; shortly afterwards Wilson was a candidate for Governor of New Jersey. It is possible to surmise that Wilson, when addressing a very distinguished audience of Alumni, Trustees, and students, had the opportunity of elaborating on the importance of oratory within public

service. Whether or not Wilson believed that, an appropriate description of Robert E. Lee was immaterial in so far as it does not change the point of this argument. The significance of the quote lies in the fact that Wilson both crafted the speech and presented it to a specific audience made up of different elite groups. Wilson's political ambitions may or may not have influenced that speech, however what may be deduced is that an audience of such distinguished individuals would have had the power to support or hinder political aspirations. Consequently, while it may not be possible to categorically state that Wilson was using that speech to launch a political career, certain suppositions remain consistent. Wilson was the author of the speech and the language employed was compatible with what has been historically revealed regarding Wilson's own ambitions (Clements 1992; Thompson, 2002). Wilson, Kraig (2004) indicates, was the last American President trained as an orator and author of his own presidential speeches.

After Wilson, presidential rhetoric would always contain a certain amount of ambiguity regarding its origin and whether the intentions espoused were in actuality the President's design, or those of his speechwriter(s). The significance of this is to acknowledge that Roosevelt (1941b, 1942), Carter (1979a, 1979b) and Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric, unlike Wilson's was not a personal creation. However, as this thesis clearly demonstrates presidential rhetoric and the ideas and concerns related have as much to do with the personality of the President and the his relationship with his speechwriters as the quill from which they originated.

A New Era: The Specialist Presidential Speechwriter⁴⁶:

Luther called the invention of the printing press the 'supremist act of grace by which the Gospel can be driven forward.' And it was. ... Protestant[ism], concentrated on the word, until it found its greatest fulfilment here in the first political system built on the word alone: no divine right of kings, no mysticism, just a few pages of written text, the American Constitution. (Postman, 1999: 290)

The United States at the beginning of the twentieth century was in transition on many fronts: urban populations were beginning to expand and overtake rural society; 14% of the country's population comprised foreign born immigrants; newspapers remained the primary media source⁴⁷; large manufacturing conglomerates were emerging; and both business and government were beginning to employ public relations experts. One of President Woodrow Wilson's greatest challenges was in being able to communicate 'his message' to American citizens scattered across a vast continent. Postman (1999) suggests that concepts, ideas and arguments are produced in print using single level emotional stimuli through linear building blocks. Consequently, Postman's (1999) ideas are valuable for understanding

⁴⁶ This thesis is concerned with the twentieth and early twenty-first century. It is acknowledged that various Presidents in earlier times had had assistance with their speeches.

⁴⁷ The 1910 US Census <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/php/stte.php> American Census Historical Information [accessed 04 October 2010].

the potential for presidential rhetoric during the era of the newspaper industry and its crucial role as the principal source of local and global news for the American general public.

Presidential rhetoric was actually heard by very few people in the first quarter of the twentieth century and if the general public received presidential rhetoric it was usually via printed material. During this period the United States witnessed a huge transformation in media technology. It moved from an era when the public received news through print (newspapers, journals and magazines) and via community talks to radio transmissions in which the President could speak directly to the American nation.

President Wilson wrote his own presidential rhetoric and at the same time appreciated the necessity to deliver his message by all available means to the American public. Fellow and Tebbel (2005) state that Wilson's government at the outbreak of WWI, set up the Committee of Public Information and this was the origin of government being involved in opinion-making. Bernays was a member of that committee and stated:

*With the outbreak of World War I, nations in the conflict
and out of it recognized how important public opinion was to
the success of their efforts. ... Ideas and their dissemination
became an essential part of the war effort in each country
(Bernays, 1952: 71).*

Thompson (2002) corroborates Bernays' statement regarding Wilson's government and adds that the CPI marshalled all available services ranging from journalists, public figures, to scholars, photographers, and cartoonists with an influx of printed material promoting the war effort. The use of pictures and cartoons within the war material is interesting, because it recognizes the significance of image and imagery alongside the printed word. Crumm (1996) asserts the CPI developed into a huge propaganda organization disseminating a daily newspaper in several languages and recruited 75,000 'patriotic speakers'. These speakers were referred to as the 'Four Minute Men' (despite the vast majority being women) as they gave short talks at schools, theatres, dance halls, church halls and other places. The talks stressed the demonic 'Hun' enemy and the justice of the Allied causes (Crumm, 1996; Thompson 2002). The speakers were necessary to ensure the government's message was disseminated across all sectors of society within the nation. It also signifies that the CPI appreciated the value of the spoken word for getting the government's message to the American populace. As technology progressed and the radio became a commodity in the majority of American homes the importance of the spoken word was fully realized.

The changing media technology was generating new challenges and opportunities for presidential rhetoric. On March 4, 1925, Calvin Coolidge's inaugural address was broadcast by twenty-one radio stations and heard by approximately 15,000,000 people (Buhite and Levy, 1992). Consequently, the creation, construction and dissemination of presidential rhetoric needed rethinking within a new conceptual framework. Kuypers (1997) asserts it was

the inception of the radio, initiating mass media that proved the most significant change in the way presidential rhetoric was conceived and promulgated. This thesis corroborates that argument, however if that were the only factor it would mean Coolidge's presidential rhetoric would have initiated the historical moment when there was a significant change in presidential rhetoric. Indeed, Freidel (1994) asserts Coolidge was best known for his lack of speaking, often choosing to remain silent during meetings. Walter Lippmann indicated in 1926 the political talent of Coolidge was his flair for actually doing nothing, stating:

This active inactivity suits the mood and certain of the needs of the country admirably. It suits the business interests which want to be let alone... And it suits all those who have become convinced that government in this country has become dangerously complicated and top-heavy... (Freidel, 1996: 65).

This quote highlights the fact that presidential rhetoric has to be considered within the historical era in which it was created. American society throughout WWI and the Progressive Era, witnessed a significant growth within the American Federal Government (Holcombe, 1996). Coolidge's term of government, during the 1920s, was considered pro-business and hostile to governmental intervention and this was often associated with anti-Progressivism (Ables, 1969). Arguably, Coolidge's presidential rhetoric met the demands of the rhetorical situation as Bush's did immediately after the

attacks of 9/11. It is only by examining the context of the presidential rhetoric and the demands it answers that any understanding can be gleaned.

These facts may shed light on why Coolidge adopted a 'do nothing exemplar' during his term as President. Considered within the context of the historical period Coolidge's presidential rhetoric generated a particular public image that was necessary for that period. One that the American public supported and identified with, or provided what Neustadt (1990) referred to as 'public prestige'. Secondly, it may have been the advisors' cognizance, and their ability to impart that knowledge to the President, which inspired Coolidge to adopt a 'steady as she goes' under-utilized presidential rhetoric. Or perhaps thirdly, the lack of extra-ordinary 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) may have meant that Coolidge's presidential rhetoric was correctly gauged.

Coolidge's inability to employ the coeval media technology to its greatest effect may have been simply because radio was a new technology that he did not fully understand or feel comfortable using. Roosevelt was from the subsequent generation and had already used it to great effect as Governor of New York prior to becoming President. The availability of the radio as a means for inspiring the masses was perfect for Roosevelt's personal attributes. In fact if a new type of presidential rhetoric was required for the changing needs and aspirations of a developing nation it was perhaps also inevitable that it necessitated a different type of presidential speechwriter. The changing nature of American culture, economy, and society during the

first few decades of the twentieth century exemplifies why presidential rhetoric has to be examined within contextual understanding of how and when it was uttered.

THE AGE OF THE SPEECHWRITER/ADVISOR:

Radio and Presidential Rhetoric:

The spoken story touches the auditory nerve, which runs across the floor of the skull into the brainstem just below the pons. ... [It was] surmised that the ear was meant, therefore, to hear at three different levels. One pathway was said to hear the mundane conversations of the world. A second pathway apprehended learning and art. And the third pathway existed so the soul itself might hear guidance and gain knowledge while here on earth. (Estes, 1992: 25-26)

The significance of Estes (1992) is that she distinguishes the spoken word from both print and visual art, and delineates how the different levels pertain to understanding. Estes (1992) like Campbell (1988) suggests that the circumstances in which the story is imparted (through the spoken word) and the use of different types of language, particularly myths, influence the capacity for retaining the spirit of the story in conscious memory. The thriving newspaper industry during Roosevelt's tenure was overshadowed by the radio

that captured the imagination of the modern American society. Indeed Barnouw states:

[Radio] suddenly symbolized a coming age of enlightenment. It was seen as leading to the fulfilment of democracy. ... It would link rich and poor, young and old. It would end the isolation of rural life. It would unite the nation. (Barnouw, 1979: 12)⁴⁸

The 1930's to the 1940's was the era when the radio became the principal form of mass communication media. Douglas Craig (2000, p 12) has mapped the growth of radio ownership: 'by 1930 45.8% of American homes were equipped with radio, and by 1940 that figure had risen to more than 80%'. Roosevelt appreciated the value of this medium and the accessibility it furnished for communicating directly with the masses (Ibid). Roosevelt began his presidency in 1933, with what became his trademark 'Fireside Chats'⁴⁹ (Mankowski and Jose, 2008). Schlesinger (2008) insists that Roosevelt's effective radio communications were a blueprint for the modern trends in presidential communications.

⁴⁸ Barnouw, Erik (1979) suggests in a footnote that these sentiments were found in *Radio Broadcast* (May, 1922) the first publication, online version, but with no page numbers http://www.archive.org/stream/radiobroadcast01gardrich/radiobroadcast01gardrich_djvu.txt [accessed 02 February 2012]. The same quote is found in Beville, Hugh Malcolm (1988: 1) *Audience Ratings: Radio, Television, and Cable*. New York: Routledge. Beville (1988) attributes the quote to: Wilhelm, David (1922) 'An American Radio Policy' *Radio Broadcast* pp.21-27.

⁴⁹ On the authority of Judge Clinton Sorrel, FDR's speech writer, FDR began 'Fireside Chats' in 1929 during his first term as Governor of New York *National Museum of American History*, Smithsonian Institution <http://www.americanhistory.si.edu/exhibiton.cfm?key=1267&exkey=143&pagekey=246> [accessed 09 June 2011].

It is useful to remember that Roosevelt was not the sole author of the 'Fireside Chats', although he worked closely with his speechwriters in their construction. Arguably, the 'Fireside Chats' worked because of both Roosevelt's personal quality of a deep and resonant voice, and his willingness to listen to his speechwriters about the language required. Roosevelt began his presidency with three key speechwriters, confidants, and advisors: Samuel Rosenman, a lawyer who had worked as Roosevelt's Counsel since becoming New York Governor in 1928; Raymond Moley, a professor of Public Law and part of Roosevelt's 'brains trust'; and Louis Howe, who had been a long-standing aide and worked as everything from deputy, to strategist, to speechwriter (Schlesinger, 2008). The background of Roosevelt's speechwriters remains significant it was their experience, knowledge and Roosevelt's confidence in their advice that necessitated their assistance in creating presidential rhetoric. Rosenman (cited in Schlesinger, 2008) insists that often it was only in the actual writing of the speeches (or 'Fireside Chats') that helped to resolve issues or policy initiatives.

The close relationship Roosevelt enjoyed with his various speechwriters was evident in the continuity of language within speeches used throughout his term in office. Presidential addresses delivered on network radio or television, what Kernell (2007) describes as 'major' presidential speeches, have remained relatively static since the Herbert Hoover presidency. The formula was derived from understanding that 'individual psychology cannot ... be attuned for long periods of time to a constant repetition of the highest note in the scale', consequently Roosevelt delivered only two or three 'Fireside Chats' a

year (Hess, 2002: 28). It is the contention of this work that Roosevelt's strength was that he, or one of his close advisors, recognized that different platforms were required for different speeches. Perhaps more importantly, whoever recognized the need for different language (for example, within the 'Fireside Chats' or State of the Union addresses) Roosevelt agreed and instigated the change of language, tone, and character of the speeches.

Roosevelt's 'minor' addresses multiplied exponentially and were delivered to what Kernell (2007) defines as 'special constituencies' in Washington D.C. and across the United States. Nelson (2010)⁵⁰ insists that Kennedy and Johnson typically delivered approximately four times as many minor speeches each year as did Truman and Roosevelt. In the month of their respective crises Bush averaged nearly six times as many minor addresses as Roosevelt⁵¹. However, Schlesinger (2008) asserts that the increase in 'minor' speeches, (or as Moyers sarcastically described them, 'Rose Garden Rubbish'), inspired Johnson to create a separate unit of speechwriters.

Interestingly, the title 'Rose Garden Rubbish' is used to describe the numerous speeches, addresses and comments made by the President on a daily basis. From the perspective of the speechwriter it signifies the less important speeches. Nevertheless, the title suggests the significance of the visual imagery, roses are a classical flower and very photogenic the

⁵⁰ Nelson (2010) gained the figure from statistical information available in Kernell (2007: 122).

⁵¹ The figure for this information was attained by counting the number of addresses made by the respective presidents during the month of their respective crisis and comparing results. Information accessed on May 28, 2011 at : <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index> .

emergence of this type of presidential rhetoric is aligned with the developing era of television. The purpose of 'Rose Garden Rubbish' is to convey an image of the President relaxed, perhaps in convivial conversation but speaking informally and in an appropriate manner for the setting and duty being performed. Consequently, its value lies in the way it has the ability to capture all the facets of the President's character but within an understanding that the 'backdrop' and imagery produced remains influential.

THE SPEECHWRITING SPECIALIST:

Television and the Speechwriter Specialist President:

Presidential rhetoric used for capturing the feelings of the general public at any one time, be it a time of crisis or any other period of history, requires the President to speak with an authentic voice. Television required not only an authentic voice which necessitates a President working closely with speechwriters, and also the image to match the voice. Jimmy Carter represents a President who harnessed the technology for the purposes of being elected President and after struggled in his relationship with his speechwriters to retain the created image.

A Washington outsider, Jimmy Carter and most of the subsequent presidential administrations were elected with a surge of grassroots assistance using public pressure to question the institutional structures within Washington. Carter used his speeches and the power of that rhetoric to become President. However, it would seem that Carter never fully understood how to make the transition from outsider to insider. On the evening of the 2nd February 1977 Carter delivered a 'Fireside Chat' dressed in a cardigan and sitting next to a roaring fire; it was a poor decision in which television was being used, but within a concept of the value of radio. This example demonstrates that the Carter administration lacked an understanding of the significance of imagery, symbolism and images. This was a perfect setting for Perry Como or Bing Crosby singing traditional Christmas music, but completely unsuited to the President of the United States delivering a serious message to the public. Paglia (1999) describes the significance of the television for perpetuating images. When talking to Postman she states:

In your book you speak of television as being a medium of flashing images with only the eternal present and no past. I disagree. It's just the opposite. TV is a genre of reruns, a formulaic return to what we already know. Everything is familiar. Ads and old programs are constantly recycled. It's like mythology, like the Homeric epics, the oral tradition, in which the listener hears passages, formulae, and epithets repeated over and over again (Paglia, 1999: 298).

What Carter and his advisors failed to appreciate was that the visuals needed to validate the symbolism or myth, and in that instance it was the Office of the President that required validation. By presenting the fatherly and quintessentially family man imagery Carter created an unbelievable dichotomy; he was supposedly speaking as President, but dressed as 'Mr. Ordinary'. Contrast that to Ronald Reagan, Paglia argues:

As a television persona, Reagan was avuncular and nostalgic – a return to the happy, innocent, pre – World War II era of baseball, before the chaos and disasters of the Sixties. He was simple kindly, even-tempered, sometimes goofy. He got into his pajamas right after dinner. He ate jelly beans. He called his wife “Mommy”. He never aged. His hair never got gray. To liberal writers and academics, these things seemed stupid and ludicrous. They were off reading his policy papers, missing the whole point of his popularity. Our president is both the political and the symbolic head of our government, serving in the jobs that in England, for example, are separately represented by the prime minister and the queen. The president symbolizes the nation in psychodramatic form (1999: 296-297).

Postman agrees:

A nation as heterogeneous as ours gropes to find comprehensive symbols and icons to pull us together. Ronald Reagan was such an image (1999: 297).

When considering Reagan after the dichotomy described about Carter, this may appear contradictory. The difference is simple really, the way individuals want to perceive someone and the way they want to view them as a symbol, an image, or a myth is quite different. The American people did not see Reagan walking about in his pyjamas while fulfilling his Presidential duties, he was immaculately turned out in a dark suit, shirt and tie (statesmanlike). However, by hearing about the way he addressed his wife and that he dressed in pyjamas after dinner, the myth was actually galvanized because the President, the statesman, also had an 'ordinary' side and that kept alive the myth of the American Dream that anyone can make it to the top. The difference being: that although Carter often portrayed himself as fulfilling the American Dream, rising above what Morris (1996) described as his chaotic childhood, once Carter had achieved the status of President the public required re-assurance that their decision in electing him had not been misplaced. Carter needed to be seen as a statesmanlike President rather than dressing in a cardigan which created a crisis of confidence within the American public regarding Carter's competency in his new role. The technological capabilities of television created a situation in which the visual image transmitted was required to match the myth being perpetuated.

Carter's enthusiasm for delivering speeches, Anderson (1994: 32) contends, had a huge drawback because he 'resented using someone else's words'⁵². This feeling emanated from the fact that until elected, President Carter wrote all of his own speeches (Fallows, 1979; Anderson, 1994; Schlesinger, 2008;

⁵² Nelson (2010: 7) also uses this quote from Anderson (1994: 32).

Nelson, 2010). Schlesinger (2008) delineates the numerous challenges that caused for speechwriter and President alike, but at the heart of the challenge was that Carter was unsure organizationally where speechwriters belonged and how much they required his input. Interestingly, none of these scholars argue that Carter lost faith in his speechwriters due to the fiasco of his ‘fireside chat’. While this thesis may corroborate the facts uncovered regarding Carter’s lack of fruitful relationships with his speechwriters there remains every possibility that the reason for that lack of respect may be more complex than just Carter’s dislike for utilizing other writer’s words.

During Carter’s term of office speechwriters reported to Communications Director Gerald Rafshoon, Press Secretary Jody Powell, or Administrative Aide Al McDonald. Hendrik Hertzberg, one of Carter’s speechwriters sums it up:

*one constant throughout the term was that ‘
there was surprisingly little personal contact
between us and the man we were writing for
(Patton, 2003: 169).*

James Fallows in a memo to his boss Jody Powell, demanded that Carter needed to assume the leadership, and use his speeches to ‘educate the people and explain his policies’ (Schlesinger, 2008: 280). Carter’s inability to appreciate the skill and precision of speechwriting resulted in him dismissing a speech, a week of collaborative work written by Fallows and Goodwin on

energy legislation. Schlesinger (2008) states, instead Carter wrote his own version of the speech in one day. The result was telling, Sidey in *Time* wrote:

*So it is inevitable that Jimmy Carter will make
a run at the [Worst Speech Ever Given] record.
He probably did not break it in his televised energy
talk last week, but it was a commendable warm-up
(Schlesinger, 2008: 279).*

The relevance of this example is that it highlights Carter's personal attitude and unwillingness to embrace and appreciate the need for co-operation in his relationship with his speechwriters. However, this excerpt also exemplifies the fact that Washington insider and academic alike tend to focus on presidential rhetoric concerned with policy implications. Alternatively, this thesis is analysing presidential rhetoric after a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) and there has been surprisingly little analysis on Carter's Iranian siege addresses.

The examples of Carter and Reagan illustrate the value for any President in creating a close working relationship with his speechwriters and an awareness of the advantages and disadvantages of modern media television for creating a lasting image. Paglia summarizes the importance of television for imparting memorable images:

*Early Christianity, which first proselytized among
the poor, outcast, and unlearned, needed to use
visual imagery, which became more and more pronounced*

in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. ... Catholics are never told to read the Bible. Instead they have to listen to the priest ... Catholicism resorted increasingly to ornament and beautiful music and painting. To this day we think of Spain, Italy, and southern France as centers of great visual arts, from the Escorial to the Sistine Chapel (Paglia, 1999: 290).

Paglia (1999) believes television is valuable and traces the significance of television and its technological capability to back to this period, and interestingly Postman (1999) who traces the value of print back to Protestantism, considers television and its commercialization within American society as 'ominous'. Nevertheless Paglia (1999), Estes (1992) and Postman (1999) all agree that myths were a vital part of promoting religious/spiritual/mystical understanding and knowledge: Postman through print thus reading creates a logical analysis of morality; Estes through the sound of stories hence listening the spirit of the myth touches the soul; and Paglia through the visual imagery in this fashion viewing the continual re-enforcement of icons and images creates an instinctive mythical knowledge. The significance of these scholars is that they trace the importance of various types of media technology for enabling religious myths to impart knowledge at different levels of the mind. Consequently, this furnishes a framework for explaining why the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) used within religious myths plays such a key role in creating a specific knowledge after any attack the value for understanding the cultural era of the attack. The technological

advances in television delivered the images of 9/11, but had it occurred just years earlier that probably would not have been the case.

The President Speechwriter Nexus:

The example of George W. Bush's administration illustrates that it may not be the size of the speechwriting department or the space in which it has offices that dictates its usefulness in creating presidential rhetoric. In 1999 Bush began gathering his speechwriters around him while still in post as Governor of Texas. Schlesinger (2008) asserts that Bush was aware of Michael Gerson's capabilities, and at their first meeting immediately asked Gerson to write his announcement speech, his convention address, and his inaugural address. Gerson insists that there was 'an infectious confidence there [in Bush]' (Ibid: 461). Within weeks of their first meeting Gerson had transferred down to Austin, Texas to join Bush's campaign. Whilst working in Texas, Gerson experienced what one employee described as 'a mind meld' with Bush (Schlesinger, 2008: 462). Dan Bartlett⁵³ described it thus: 'When you bring the West Texas approach to the heavy debates of the world, there has to be a translator, Mike is the translator.' Once elected as President of the United States, Bush appointed Gerson as an Advisor and Director of Speechwriting, which came with an office in the West Wing. Schlesinger (2008) describes Gerson's other policy-related responsibilities, which ranged from managing

⁵³ Dan Bartlett was a Communications Aide to President George W. Bush, but his service with Bush began in Texas while Bush was Governor (Frum, 2003; Schlesinger, 2008).

the promotion of democracy, to international development and elimination of diseases, specifically AIDS.

It was while working on Bush's presidential campaign that Matt Scully, a writer who had been literary editor of *The National Review* and journalist at *The Washington Times*, joined Gerson. John McConnell was a lawyer who had worked as a speech writer for Vice President Quayle, completed the trio when he joined the team a few months later. Scully (2007) states that Bush referred to Gerson, himself, and McConnell as 'the troika', 'the team', 'the lads' or at times 'the A-team'. Virtually every planned speech Bush had delivered since the beginning of his presidential campaign contained the hallmark of 'the troika' (Ibid). Indeed 'the troika', with some input from David Frum and John Gibson, had all worked on Bush's September 11, 2001 evening address. The edited version was sent to Karen Hughes, Bush's close advisor and White House Communications Director who had been working with Bush since 1994, when Bush ran for Governor of Texas. Hughes reworked the speech to the extent that, according to the 'troika', apart from the line 'We will make no distinction between the terrorist groups and the nations that aid them'⁵⁴; nothing remained of the original speech. Karen Hughes did not rebut the 'troika's' dispensing of responsibility for the 9/11 evening address onto her. In fact, according to Frum (2003) Hughes believed Bush's speech on the night of 9/11 was correctly judged.

⁵⁴ The line as originally written by McConnell, which Bush changed to 'We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harboured them'.

Hughes had spoken several times via telephone to Bush about the speech throughout the day of 9/11, as she did with all of Bush's speeches. Frum (2003: 40) describes their relationship as one in which Hughes gave Bush 'unqualified admiration' ... 'the way a mother bear loves her cub' and Bush 'depends on Karen'. Frum goes on to say:

Hughes was the only person in the White House who could criticize Bush. She would tell him that he had done a poor job at a speech practice session or at a press conference, and he would react with none of the angry defensiveness that criticism from a less supportive person could provoke (Frum, 2003: 40).

Hughes came from a public relations background and recognized the importance of the President's appeal to the greater American public. The appeal was initially required to become elected as President, and post-election as leverage for repositioning Congressional support on legislation. Under such circumstances it was the power struggles of image, imagery, representations, and symbolism which were often reflected in presidential rhetoric. Frum (2003) argues that Hughes's perception of the American electorate was as an undiscerning collection of people whose consciousness could be maintained by a straightforward story with traditional themes: family, faith, health, and patriotism. Hughes's perception was evident in the way she wanted language chosen for speeches: 'putting things in people terms' (Frum, 2003: 38). For example, the word *business* was banned, but *employer* was ok, the word *parents* was banned, but *mums and dads* was ok, and the phrase

tax cuts was too harsh, a gentler phrase was *tax relief*. Frum (2003) suggests Hughes used words that conveyed *feeling* rather than *action*, and the word *but* was unacceptable as it signified conflict. Instead the word *and* was needed to signify something additional was required rather than a choice having to be made. Hughes had the ability to understand how Middle America would reflect upon presidential rhetoric and presidential actions.

Bush's journey to the Presidency was facilitated by two close advisors with very distinct personalities - Hughes, who has just been described, and Rove. Karl Rove, the chief political aide to President Bush, was sometimes referred to as the 'Architect' of the Bush presidential victory. Rove was a completely different character to Hughes, a professional politician who began his career by withdrawing from university to work for the election of Joe Abate as Chairperson of the College Republicans National Committee (Rove, 2010). Rove accumulated much experience as political strategist over the following decades and used that wealth of knowledge to assist Bush in election victory as Governor of Texas, and, finally, as President of the United States. Unlike Hughes, who viewed the American public as a huge homogenous group, and believed that if you used the 'right' (as described earlier) language the nation could be stirred as a whole. Rove was a strategist and considered the American electorate as quite differentiated niche constituencies (Frum, 2003; Rove, 2010). To gain and maintain power it was necessary to strategically recognize the combination of constituencies necessary to achieve a majority vote at the polls. Consequently, once that was achieved presidential policies, and the rhetoric used to explain those policies, needed to address the hopes

and concerns of the niche constituency voters (Mansfield, 2004). Frum (2003) insists that Rove's strategy highlighted the significance of two constituencies, middle-class Hispanics and white evangelicals, as instrumental if Bush wanted to remain in the White House. The importance of the Hispanic constituency was manifest in that Bush spoke Spanish during some of his speeches. The fact that Bush spoke Spanish poorly was immaterial, the point was that he actually took the trouble to try and speak the language. Bush respected Rove's intellect, questioning mind, and his willingness to think 'outside the box' (Mansfield, 2004). In turn, Rove admired Bush, Frum (2003: 40) describes it thus: 'the way a great coach loves his best athlete'.

Despite the fact that Bush was recognized and ridiculed for a lack of eloquence, he appreciated the significance of presidential communications. Schlesinger (2008) argues that Bush put a huge amount of time and effort into speech preparation and trust in his speechwriters. Nelson (2010) suggests that not since Roosevelt had a President worked so closely with his top aides from the West Wing. This would indicate that it was Bush's personality that enabled him to appreciate the significance of his speechwriters and advisors and consequently be willing to accept their support in constructing and disseminating presidential rhetoric. Further evidence is available from a Bush speechwriter on the topic:

*Bush and top aides such as Karen Hughes and Karl Rove
understood the importance of speechwriting
Whereas his father – and they clearly drew this*

lesson – his father really didn't ... There's no doubt in my mind that ... Governor Bush and a few others who observed that, saw that this was not the way to run a presidential speechwriting department and that this was obviously a great resource that wasn't being used (Scully in Schlesinger, 2008: 472).

This evidence would suggest that Bush's close working relationship with his aides and speechwriters enabled the speechwriters to convey accurately Bush's thoughts, including on the evening of 9/11. It was Bush's decision that Hughes should cut the line: 'This is not just an act of terrorism. This is an act of war' (Woodward, 2002: 30). During a telephone conversation between Hughes and Bush, the President clarified what was required for the evening of 9/11: 'Our mission is reassurance' (Ibid). Bush went on to argue that 'war' was a discussion for a later time (Schlesinger, 2008).

If Bush was endeavouring to reassure or comfort the American public on the evening of 9/11, as the historians suggest, it would have required a particular language that transcended trauma and shock. It seems quite feasible that by using religious myths to define the boundaries within which Americans understood *why* the attacks happened and *how* they needed to respond that they would have been comforted. By using religious myths in that way Bush was both comforting the nation and initiating a patriotic discourse. The Thesis Introduction, Chapter One, Two and Three explain respectively which myths the thesis refers to, the context in which religious myths were used, and how

this thesis will approach an examination of the religious myths. Contrary to Rudalevige (2010) who when describing the significance of Bush's close working relationship with his speechwriters overlooks the relevance of the 'patriotic discourse'. Rudalevige (2010) argued that it was not until 20th September 2001 that Bush delivered a decisive policy driven crisis speech, post 9/11. The same conclusion was espoused by Schlesinger (2008), Frum (2003) and Medhurst (2010). Rudalevige states:

... the first draft of the September 20 speech was a generic, if eloquent, call to patriotic arms. It was crafted without any specific calls to action or policy declarations – in truth, the writers did not know what the policy was to be. Even NSC speechwriter John Gibson, their normal contact for foreign policy issues, had been cut off from his usual meetings with top national security staffers. (Rudalevige, 2010: 221)

Rudalevige (2010: 221) was dismissing the importance of the 'patriotic discourse' but went on to note the significance of the speechwriters in interpreting the policy, he states: 'After meeting with his 'war cabinet' at Camp David on September 14 and 15, however important questions [policy decisions] were resolved and the speechwriters were quickly plugged back into the process'. Like the academic Rudalevige (2010), Schlesinger (2008), and Medhurst (2010), this thesis acknowledges the importance of a close working relationship between the US President and his speechwriters. However, Rudalevige (2010) cites the significance of the close relationship

with the speechwriters in enabling US Presidents to articulate clear policy areas, post crisis.

The argument of this thesis is positioned on the concept that in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, speeches were required before policies were considered. Therefore, it may be more worthwhile to examine the initial post 9/11 speeches as Bush defining the boundaries of a 'patriotic discourse'. Indeed, Rudalevige dismisses Bush's 9/11 evening address and all intervening speeches until the 20th September, 2001 stating:

On the evening of the attacks, Bush had given a less-than-reassuring brief talk from the White House, followed by several days of meandering bellicosity. He had set neither a firm tone nor a course of action, at least publicly, to which Americans could respond (Rudalevige, 2010: 220).

Frum insisted:

where Bush ought to have explained who the enemy was – and then pledged to destroy him utterly – the public was offered instead a doughy pudding of stale metaphor (Frum, 2003: 127).

Schlesinger (2008) quoted and agreed with Frum's (2003: 133) summation that Bush's 9/11 evening address was rightly referred to as the 'Awful Oval

Address'. However, when considering their arguments they all point to the lack of decisive action on the part of Bush.

The difficulty with their concern for immediate decisive action is that it fails to acknowledge the need for reassurance. The severity of the 9/11 attacks meant that Bush and his speechwriters needed to use language that was both easily understood and able to convey reassurance when the public were in a state of shock. The beauty of the 'stale metaphor' is that it indiscriminately speaks to the population and through the image signifies myths. Campbell (1988) indicates that the significance of the 'stale metaphor' for invoking myths is that it is fundamental to understanding experience. Campbell's notion about the importance of myths:

*Myth helps you to put your mind in touch
with this experience of being alive. It tells
you what the experience is (Campbell, 1988: 6).⁵⁵*

Consequently, unlike the learned academic's derisory characterization of Bush's 9/11 'Awful Oval Address', Chapter Eight illustrates the way Bush initiated an understanding of *why* the attacks occurred and *how* patriotic Americans needed to react.

⁵⁵ *Joseph Campbell The Power of Myth with Bill Moyers*, has been referenced to Campbell (1988) as the quotes were Campbell's words. Bill Moyers edited this book from conversations that took place between himself and Campbell whilst filming in 1985 and 1986 at George Lucas' Skywalker Ranch and later at the Museum of Natural History in New York. However, the book was transcribed after the death of Joseph Campbell.

This thesis contends that the influence of Bush's presidential rhetoric in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 needs to be considered within the historical and cultural era in which it was spoken. Consequently, it was pertinent that in the late twentieth century with the fall of the Berlin Wall, that the 'demonic other' of Communism had lost its relevancy. The attacks from the 1993 Waco siege, the 1995 Oklahoma bombing, and the 1999 Columbine High School massacre may have resulted in a generation of Americans only knowing the 'demonic other' as that from within the United States. Equally, the fact that the 9/11 atrocities occurred with a worldwide audience watching the entire attack live on television was relevant to the way speechwriters constructed the presidential rhetoric after the atrocities. Moreover, the available media technology also influenced the presidential speechwriters' choice regarding the location and setting for Bush's evening address on 9/11.

CONCLUSION:

This chapter has illustrated why the relationship between the President and his presidential speechwriters remains an important aspect for consideration when analysing presidential rhetoric. However, it also highlighted that it is far more complicated to understand that relationship than try and align it to 'types' of President and speechwriter relationships (Nelson, 2010). This chapter has examined critically the influence of presidential speechwriters on presidential rhetoric and how that has been influenced by the transformation of media technology. The changing nature in the position of the presidential

speechwriter during the twentieth century has been affected by the exigencies from the changing media technology. This has resulted in the necessity for increased presidential utterances and created a situation in which the role of the speechwriter was both a requirement and a developing process during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

This chapter has synthesized the significance of the changing media technology with the changing role of the presidential speechwriter. The relationship revealed that presidential rhetoric delivered through various mediums, for example print, radio and television necessitated presidential advisors and speechwriters who understood the capabilities of the technology. A close working relationship between President and speechwriters was necessary to facilitate the President's thoughts and concerns to be effectively communicated via his rhetoric. The changing media technology highlighted the value of having speechwriters who also understood the value of images and imagery for choreographing presidential rhetoric. The rhetorical nature of the Presidency itself has mythical value that requires a patriarchal and statesman like image to be presented. The example of Carter delivering a 'Fireside Chats' in a cardigan created an image of him being soft and inconsequential calling into question his suitability for the post.

Alternatively, Reagan's advisors and speechwriters understood the significance of imagery and reinforced his statesman like image in a smart crisp dark suit. The image was of an authoritative figure who was capable of running the country and instilled confidence in the American public. The

chapter has demonstrated that to fully understand the relationship between the President and his speechwriters several factors need to be taken into consideration. These factors include: principally, the personality of the President and his willingness to work with and accept the speechwriter's words; the historical era in which the President resides; the nature and severity of any 'rhetorical situations' (Bitzer, 1968) and the demands that produces during the term of office; and the available media technology and the limitations and opportunities that creates.

The factors outlined form the focus of analysis for the individual Presidents and this begins with Wilson's (1915) address after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*. The chapters that follow then analyse critically Roosevelt (1941b, 1942), Carter (1979a, 1979b) and culminate with Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. Each chapter will examine the individual presidential rhetoric and compare that to the rhetoric of Bush, while the final chapter focuses entirely on Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. The previous chapters have laid the foundation for appreciating *why* and *how* religious myths have been utilized to meet the demands of specific rhetorical situations. What remains is to carry out that analysis, which is achieved in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

'WILSON'S NATURALIZATION CEREMONY ADDRESS'

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter will analyse critically the way that President Woodrow Wilson utilized his presidential rhetoric after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* and will then compare and contrast that with the way Bush used presidential rhetoric after 9/11, uncovering the similarities and the differences between the two. The examination will highlight the significance of the media in disseminating information about the rhetorical situation to the public and the way in which that influences the context of the situation and the necessity for presidential speechwriters. This will be achieved by analysing Wilson's speech three days after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* and contrasting it with Bush's 'Awful Oval Address', which will be analysed in Chapter Eight.

It is the argument of this thesis that an interesting and important aspect of understanding presidential rhetoric, after a rhetorical situation, lies in analysing critically the similarities and differences of each President's initial and early responses. It is contended that the initial and early responses need to be understood in the context of the historical era in which the event occurred. This is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that it was on the fifteenth address after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and almost two years after the event, when Wilson went to Congress requesting a declaration of war against Germany⁵⁶. Arguably, there would have been fewer speeches than

⁵⁶ This number includes the speeches, addresses, Inaugural address's, convention speeches and State of the Union addresses Wilson delivered between May 7, 1915 and April 2, 1917 (Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany).

that if 1916 had not been a Presidential election year. On a similar note, Rudalevige (2010) asserts that it was not until Bush's eighteenth speaking engagement⁵⁷ after 9/11, some nine days after the rhetorical situation, when policy proposals were uttered.

Bush used the rhetoric of otherness after 9/11 for the purpose of educating the American public about *why* the attacks happened and *how* they needed to respond. This thesis establishes (see Chapter Three) that Wilson, after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*, was not in a position to use the rhetoric of otherness as a binary opposite, as the rhetorical event did not meet the criteria necessary to have value. Nevertheless Wilson utilized his rhetoric employing constructions of otherness, but in a way that Derrida (1982, 2003) referred to as constructions of *differance*, see Chapter Three for a detailed explanation of the term. However, the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* and the loss of American lives at the time was indeed a turning point in the way Wilson viewed America's place in the world.

Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. *The American Presidency Project*.
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/> [accessed 02 January 2011].

⁵⁷ This number includes addresses, speeches, and remarks delivered by Bush from the initial 9/11 remarks until his address to Congress on September 20, 2001. Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T., *The American Presidency Project*.
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?month=09&year=2001> [accessed 10 October 2011].

WILSON'S ADDRESS:

On the 10th of May 1915, while war was raging all across Europe and only three days after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland, President Wilson addressed a Naturalization Ceremony in Philadelphia. It is the contention here that the assemblage itself in this case, was an important symbol both to the outside world and to the domestic audience. It included people from distant parts of the globe who had left their homelands to become citizens of the United States of America, and Wilson highlighted the significance of that by making reference to the point in numerous ways throughout the entire speech. The first time was a simple courtesy of acknowledging the audience: 'Mr. Mayor, Fellow Citizens'⁵⁸, but that courtesy was transposed into much more. Wilson, by using the term 'fellow citizens' was saying to the people in attendance and to anyone who heard about or read⁵⁹ the address at a later date, that 'you are one of us'. The point was then re-emphasized in the same sentence: 'those who have just become citizens of the United States' (Wilson, 1915).

Wilson immediately followed with what can only be described as a concise summation of America's 'myth of origin':

This is the only country in the world which

⁵⁸ Wilson, Woodrow (1915) 'Address At Naturalization Ceremony' 10 May. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. (eds.) *American Presidency Project*. <http://www.ucsb.edu/ws/pid=65388> [accessed 02 July 2009]. Appendix 1.5.

⁵⁹ A transcripts of Wilson's addresses were then published in newspapers allowing a larger audience to read the President's words (Link, 1963; Clements, 1992; Thompson, 2002).

*experiences this constant and repeated
rebirth (Wilson, 1915).*

The 'myth of origin' as elucidated upon in Chapter Three and Bellah (1992) suggests is a fundamental aspect of understanding America as the Chosen People.

An eminently possible interpretation for anyone who read the speech in either the domestic audience or the international audience was then, that the country of the United States had been created by God for a specific purpose. The essence of the phrase implied that the people who had immigrated to America - 'the Chosen Ones' or 'Chosen People' - were there because America was the Chosen Nation. Consequently, reference to the Chosen People or Chosen Nation became one and the same. Wilson (1915) was asserting that America as the Chosen Nation, necessitated American citizens accepting the task to show the rest of the world 'the chosen way'.

Wilson then reiterated the significance of the Chosen Nation concept by insisting that when the immigrants were making an 'oath of allegiance to the United States' they were in fact making an 'allegiance to no one [no person], unless it be God' (Ibid). By stating that it was God to whom the immigrants were making the oath, Wilson was in essence saying that God created America for a specific purpose. Equally, if the immigrants of 1915 were making the oath to God, Wilson was inferring that God continued, through whoever was governing, to control the destiny of America. The challenge when describing the way in which Wilson was using this language is that

Wilson was the son of a Preacher and therefore well versed in using American religious metaphors to present religious meaning within an address or speech. However, despite the ambiguity as to Wilson's (1915) intentions the beauty of using these American myths is that they have the capacity to transcend both religious and a secular meaning of God (see Chapter Three) and that is why the spirit of the myth has the ability to create meaning for the entire population. At that point Wilson changed from restating values exemplified through the myth of the Chosen Nation to those enshrined within the myth of 'Nature's Nation'.

Nature's Nation:

The contention of this thesis is that Wilson used American myths to create a sense of inclusiveness, but through overt references to God, almost preaching the point. Degler (1984) and Polenberg (1992) describe the immigrants' path to American assimilation at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, as often occurring via their religious worship. To summarize their findings, it was clear that the immigrant often began the assimilation process through religious services delivered in their own language. This enabled the immigrant to feel comfortable and gain confidence within their new life, which in turn encouraged them to learn English and become active participants in American society. Therefore, using religious language in such an overt way may have been a powerful rhetorical tool for Wilson during a period when religion played such an important part in

American assimilation. The fact that Wilson was speaking at a Naturalizing Ceremony suggests that religious language may have been *de rigueur*.

The myth of Nature's Nation which Wilson used rather cleverly in the subsequent sentences reveals the advantage of incorporating myths as they offered voice, both to Calvinistic ideals and to utilitarian principles⁶⁰.

Arguably, it is the interconnectedness of ideals and principles that has given the myth of Nature's Nation the capacity to arouse emotions in American citizens across the spectrum, from the zealous Christian Right to the ardent secularist. Wilson stated:

*You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great
ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope
of the human race (Wilson, 1915).*

That sentence and the following, it is argued, allowed for the audience to create an understanding of the speech that could be interpreted to suit their personal needs. By starting the sentence with a reference back to the 'oath of allegiance' to a 'great ideal', it could be suggested that Wilson was deliberately invoking the Calvinist tradition. Bellah (1992: 11) defines the Calvinistic belief as: 'God is lord of the earthly city as well as the heavenly one'. Therefore, within this understanding the great 'body of principles' (Wilson, 1915) would refer to God's providence, while the 'great hope of the human race' (ibid) would refer to the concept that even immoral men maintain

⁶⁰ For a detailed explanation on the differences between these ideals and how they have been used in the forging of a United American citizenry see Bellah (1992). The Othering within these ideals was espoused in Chapter Three.

some 'image' or 'impression' of spiritual integrity and honesty, without which there would be no civic harmony⁶¹.

Arguably, however, there is another way to interpret the sentence: 'You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race' (Wilson, 1915). When examined in combination with the next sentence and one made earlier, 'You have just taken an oath to the United States' (Ibid) it might be suggested that rather than the Calvinist imagery, it provoked a more Hobbesian or utilitarian vision. For in the next sentence, Wilson quoted back to the immigrants the words they had previously recited:

*You have said, We are going to America not
only to earn a living ... but to help forward the
great enterprises of the human spirit ... satisfy
their quest for what their spirits crave ... one
longing and utterance of the human heart, and
that is for liberty and justice (Wilson, 1915).*

Examining it from that perspective it could have been that Wilson was trying in that instance to suggest that the immigrants aspired to ideals of self-interest, that they wanted to 'earn a living', and to 'satisfy their quest for what their

⁶¹ This interpretation of Calvinist ideas comes from Bellah (1975), who has drawn on Deane H. (1963) for this part of the interpretation. These interpretations are delineating first principles within the myth Nature's Nation. Hughes (2004) who also defines Nature's Nation as coming from the combination of Calvinist and utilitarian ideals does not then define these ideals. However, it may be argued that this is what Hughes (2004) had in mind as he quotes Robert Bellah widely and Robert Bellah wrote the forward to Hughes (2004) work.

spirits crave' (Ibid). Wilson, it is proposed was underlining the notion that each of the individuals wanted to immigrate to America for their own reasons, but at the core was self-interest and making a better life. Wilson ended the sentence with 'the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice', it is the human heart that wants justice and personal freedom therefore it may suggest that, once again, Wilson was emphasizing the individual motivation of self-interest. Significantly, the immigrants did not use the term 'human soul' which would perhaps have delineated a more religious context in which to understand the statement. The immigrants by making 'the oath to the United States', were in fact accepting and agreeing to utilitarian ideals. The utilitarian ideals that help to form the basis of the myth Nature's Nation Bellah (1992: 29) describes as: 'a social contract made by individuals to maximize their self-interest'.

The contention put forward is that simultaneously, Wilson conveyed the imagery of both the Calvinist ideal of 'divine truth and justice', and the utilitarian principle of 'social contract founded on individual self-interest' (Bellah, 1992: 32); both are cornerstones of the myth of Nature's Nation. Wilson however may have been stressing to the German immigrants in particular that 'old allegiances' needed to be left behind and that they were, as of their naturalization, Americans with American purpose - a utilitarian approach. This dual construction was not anything new: Thomas Jefferson's phrase in the Declaration of Independence regarding 'the laws of nature and nature's God' had already managed to coalesce the two primary sanctioning precepts, thereby commencing the myth of Nature's Nation.

Patriotism

The changing nature of culture and society over time however, meant that by the beginning of the twenty-first century Bush merely had to use the words ‘freedom’ or ‘democracy’ or ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness’ to invoke the myth of Nature’s Nation. This does not mean to say that every American, or even the majority of Americans, would consciously think about or articulate the religious or mythical connection between the two as defined by Marsden (2008) and expanded upon in Chapter Five and Chapter Nine. The changing media technology over the twentieth century created ‘short-cuts’ for different symbols, images and language to inspire the same emotional response that Wilson accomplished utilizing much more obvious religious language. The myth of Nature’s Nation has therefore, across historical periods, been conveyed through several varying forms of imagery and descriptions. One that has yet to be discussed is ‘liberty’.

Wilson’s reference to the immigrants looking for ‘liberty and justice’ (Wilson, 1915) was followed immediately by a description of the importance of leaving other countries behind. Wilson was now getting to the heart of his speech and the use of ‘liberty’ accompanied by the next few sentences, communicates

more than simply the sentiments of an American tradition⁶². Wilson in fact quite specifically stated to all of the immigrants, whatever their origin:

*You come with the purpose of leaving
all other countries behind you (Wilson, 1915).*

It is suggested that Wilson constructed that sentence as a way of reminding the immigrants that, whatever their circumstances, they were unable to achieve what they wanted in their birth countries. Consequently, the immigrants were looking for 'liberty' from their birth countries, just as the American pilgrims wanted religious liberation in the seventeenth century. This would also indicate that Wilson was endeavouring to ensure new immigrants would identify with, and relate to the American myths.

Interestingly, following that Wilson asserted:

*[for an immigrant] to love the home of his birth
... very sacred and ought not to be put out of
our hearts. ... but it is one thing to love the place
where you were born and it is another thing
to dedicate yourself to the place to which you
go (Wilson, 1915).*

At that point Wilson defined what was expected of immigrants in America:

You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless

⁶² The reference being made is the American historical identification of liberty which signifies liberation from British rule. For a more detailed examination of liberty and its importance within American religious political rhetoric see also (Bellah, 1992; Hughes, 2004; Kagan, 2006; Marsden 2008).

you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will, thorough Americans (Wilson, 1915).

In essence Wilson was defining American identity throughout the course of the entire speech, but particularly from that point onwards, through constructions of otherness. This was evident in the following sentences when Wilson stated:

You can not become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes (Wilson, 1915).

By delineating the knowledge of American identity within these parameters, Wilson was using constructions of otherness⁶³ within Derrida's (1982) definition of 'difference'⁶⁴. By utilizing Derrida's (1982) 'difference' rather than binary opposites in constructing the knowledge through which American identity was understood, it allowed Wilson the scope to refine the boundaries according to the particular circumstance⁶⁵. This was a Naturalization Ceremony, where immigrants would shed their ties with one country and adopt those of a new country, in that case America.

⁶³ For a detailed explanation on Derrida's concept of 'difference' in relation to constructions of otherness see the Chapter One.

⁶⁴ This differs from the way President George W. Bush regularly utilized constructions of otherness and will be differentiated in the following chapter.

⁶⁵ The positional change of the President with regard to America's interest in relationship to WWI over the following two years produced constructions of otherness with wide variations in boundaries. However, this is not examined within the parameters of this thesis.

The symbolism of a Naturalization Ceremony within a country that originated and developed through immigration remains important. Campbell (1988: 82) asserts: 'A ritual is the enactment of a myth. By participating in the ritual, you are participating in a myth'. The socio-political circumstances surrounding Wilson furnished him with an excellent opportunity for conveying what it meant to be 'thorough' Americans. It is proposed that Wilson appreciated the value of such symbolism and ritual, and that therefore he expanded in detail, repeatedly emphasizing the conduct expected of 'thorough' Americans. The immigrants representing so many countries, and their circumstances being so unstable and diverse dictated that it was necessary to concentrate on America and its special status as the Chosen Nation. It would have been counter-productive for Wilson to characterize every other nation as 'bad' or 'evil', such descriptions would have alienated the immigrants, whereas concentrating on America's attributes reminded everyone of why they made the transition. Nevertheless, emphasizing the inability of the immigrants to achieve their personal goals within their birth countries reinforces the value of '*differance*' (Derrida, 1981).

In this example Wilson was offering the hospitality of the United States although arguably utilizing what Derrida (2001) refers to as conditional laws of hospitality. Derrida (2001) examines ethical responsibility and justice through the concept of hospitality, which makes the Wilson example relevant. Wilson was aligning the immigrants' responsibility as 'new Americans' with their hospitality in America. Wilson elucidates this imperative through religious

myths suggesting the moral response of all Americans was to treat 'new Americans' equitably. However, Wilson aligns that equitable standing with the responsibility of 'new Americans' to differentiate (other) themselves from their native 'ways' and adopting American ideals of justice, structures and political institutions. Thus demonstrating the imperative to utilize effective codes of hospitality Derrida states:

*without which The unconditional law of hospitality
would be in danger of remaining a pious and
irresponsible desire, without form and without
potency, and of even being perverted at any
moment (Derrida, 2001: 22-23).*

This example highlights Derrida's (Ibid) concept that ethical responsibility and justice may at any given time be defined through constructions of otherness, nevertheless not all situations warrant using this as a binary opposite. It corroborates Derrida's (1981) argument *differance*, while at the same time demonstrating the significance of the rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1968) in designating the opportunities for using the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Wilson, arguably was using American religious myths for the purpose of promoting the ideals of American Exceptionalism (Lipset, 1996) to designate appropriate patriotic behaviour.

It is contended that Wilson had not intended to define a complete American identity but rather, that Wilson defined American patriotism. Evidence for that

rests with Wilson's suggestion regarding the acceptability of the immigrants' love for their birth nation. If it was a complete transformation to American identity, then it would not be conducive to carry on loving another country. Moreover, Wilson described what can only be referred to as un-American behaviour:

A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes (Wilson, 1915).

Thus, by explaining what un-American behaviour was, Wilson in actuality defined acceptable American behaviour. Interestingly, Wilson did not suggest 'the man' should not live in the United States, but rather that 'the man' ... 'is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes' (Wilson, 1915). Wilson had described 'the man' as 'not worthy' thus suggesting this may have been a reference to the biblical 'prodigal son' who needed to change his behaviour to live under the 'Stars and Stripes'. The fact that stars and stripes were capitalized suggests that Wilson had used them as proper nouns; as such they denoted a specific thing, the American Flag⁶⁶. The American Flag is the most recognizable symbol of American patriotism, consequently this would suggest that Wilson defined what was required of the immigrants in order to become patriotic Americans. Further corroboration for that lies in Wilson's earlier sentence:

⁶⁶ See Chapter Five for a detailed examination of the significance of the American Flag regarding American patriotism.

*You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless
you become in every respect and with every purpose
of your will thorough Americans (Wilson, 1915).*

Wilson had described *how* the immigrants should conduct themselves, 'with every purpose of your will', in other words, in everything they wanted to do the immigrants needed to be 'good', 'perfect', 'thorough' Americans. The inference being, if the immigrants were 'good', 'perfect' or 'thorough' Americans, they were 'patriotic' Americans.

WILSON'S RHETORIC:

The first few paragraphs of Wilson's speech quintessentially illustrated the variation of features that were conveyed throughout the entire speech. The paragraphs that followed reiterated these ideals and principles by reinforcing these common ideas. It was Wilson who suggested that a particular pro forma was useful for ensuring the masses accepted new ideas and political changes (Kraig, 2004), whilst Wilson on May 10, 1915 was not talking to the masses, for the people involved, new citizenship was an immense change. Wilson's speeches were also published in newspapers, thus ensuring a wider audience (Link, 1963); this would have been important since between 1900 and 1910 the US population grew by 21%⁶⁷. At the same time 14.65%⁶⁸ of the

⁶⁷ US History Census (1910) 'Government History' *US Census Information*.
http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1910_fast_facts.html
[accessed 04 October 2010].

population were foreign born and had not yet gained naturalization.

Therefore, these words had the capacity to suggest to all foreign born, first generation, or even second generation immigrants, *how* the Chosen Ones needed to behave as patriotic Americans. Their responsibility was to America as the place of their choice, rather than to their former nations. For other Americans the speech may also have been a way of suggesting the need for accepting new immigrants and working with them for a better America.

Wilson's rhetoric, unlike all the other Presidents considered within this thesis, was being conveyed by utilizing a pro forma and within a language that Wilson personally articulated as purposeful. Wilson, in his lecture on 'Democracy' explained that the rhetorical situation demanded not only calming rhetoric that remonstrated against audacious action, but also the initiation of a discourse that encouraged gradual reform (Kraig, 2004). Moreover, Kraig (2004) states that Wilson maintained that political reforms normally took years to be authorized and enforced. Wilson expounded on the way that transformation was achievable in his lecture on 'Democracy', stating:

*[A politician] ought to fit ... for common use by
employing familiar words and accepted phrases, by a
liberal ad-mixture of old doctrine with the new, so as to
prove that the two will mix. And he ought to pray that
as speedily as possible ... [his ideas] may come to be*

⁶⁸ US Population Census (1910) 'US Population' *US Census Information*. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab04.html> [accessed 04 October 2010] The percentage was reached by dividing number of foreign born non-naturalized population 13,515,886 by total number population retrieved from previous URL, 92,228,496.

regarded as authoritative, indeed, but commonplace ...

Such is the cost of success in moving masses of men;

and you must conform to the necessities of the case. ...

(Wilson; quoted in Kraig, 2004: 87).

Kraig (2004) suggests that Wilson utilized common aims and it was necessary to reinforce those objectives by restating them in many different ways. The argument being put forward here is that myths, by their very nature, signified familiar stories traditionally passed down from generation to generation, and as such were excellent vehicles for transporting objectives containing new processes and behaviours. Kraig (2004) asserts that this was apparent in a speech on patriotism in which Wilson was even more unequivocal about concealing the new in old words⁶⁹:

*Take every novel idea that has been worked over
so thoroughly and with old ideas and in old phrases that
it wont [will not]⁷⁰ look new. Then it will look as if it had
been handled; and it will be put in old words which they
have heard time out of mind, and they will get the impression
that there is nothing new about them at all. The art of
persuasion is to mingle the old with the new, and thus do
away with the prejudice against new things (Wilson; quoted
in Kraig, 2004: 87)⁷¹.*

⁶⁹ A note of interest, in a 1986 episode of 'Yes Prime Minister' regarding party political broadcasts in the UK, it was explained to the Prime Minister, that if you want to say something new, you need to use a traditional backdrop; if you're not saying anything new, you need to use a modern backdrop. To date this formula has been evident in all ministerial broadcasts viewed since the programme.

⁷⁰ [] signify Researcher's addition, not Kraig's (2004).

On May 10, 1915 the Naturalization Ceremony speech was evidence that Wilson not only understood established rhetorical practices⁷², but also utilized these practices endeavouring to convince others to adopt objectives for new processes and behaviours.

Wilson began that process in the following few sentences by alluding, once again, to the myth of the Chosen Nation. Wilson stated:

*My urgent advice to you would be, not only
always to think first of America, but always, also,
to think first of humanity (Wilson, 1915).*

Wilson was reminding the immigrants as the Chosen ones, and from that point naturalized Americans, that they had a duty to think of America first, and also to 'think first of humanity' (Ibid). However, to 'think first' is an absolute, therefore it was only possible to 'think first' of one thing. This would indicate that Wilson was implying it was American humankind that needed thinking about, and concerns about their homelands had to be secondary. Wilson used the term 'humanity', which signifies 'human kind' or 'kindness and mercy' (Adams et al., 1995) four times in the first three sentences of the fourth paragraph. The context of these sentences when considered as a whole,

⁷¹ For Wilson's original comments see Wilson, 'Democracy', 367; Wilson, 'Address on Patriotism to the Washington Association of New Jersey', 375; Wilson, 'Liberty, Expediency, Morality, in the Democratic State', 105. These quotes were found in Kraig, 2004: 87.

⁷² See Greco Roman rhetoric (Webb, 1997) or Meander (Tzifopoulos, 1995) for early sources regarding the value and practices of rhetoric. Wilson's educational background would have meant that these concepts would have been part of his training.

suggests that Wilson may have intended both meanings of humanity to come to mind.

This combination of meanings is evident once again when one examines the third sentence:

*Humanity can be welded together only by
love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy
and hatred' (Wilson, 1915).*

The sentence only has a message if both meanings of humanity are used. Wilson began: 'Humanity can be welded together' (Wilson, 1915) thus, signifying that all human kind (all Americans) can be unified. However, Wilson chose not to stop there, adding: 'by love, by sympathy, by justice'. Perhaps Wilson was concerned about the number of different immigrant groups within the United States and was reminding all of them why they immigrated to America and needed to put adversarial notions behind them. Nevertheless, it takes kindness and mercy to relinquish such attitudes. Therefore, it may be surmised that Wilson used 'humanity' to effectuate both definitions. Wilson made that point despite the fact that in 1915 America was not the leading world power. This suggests that although the world did not recognize America as the foremost power of the world, the myth of the Chosen Nation gave the American people and the American leader a sense that it was their duty to lead. The fact that neither the American public nor the American leader may have had any influence over other nations appears inconsequential. At the

same time, Wilson used that sentence as a spring board to make associations between myths.

Wilson made such associations by using constructions of otherness to highlight the significance of myths working in unison. Wilson stated:

*I am sorry for the man who seeks to make
personal capital out of the passions of his
fellow-men (Wilson, 1915).*

While one of the cornerstones of the myth of Nature's Nation is self-interest, Wilson denounced it here as 'un-American'. The interpretation that is being suggested is that the man had not 'thought of humanity' accordingly, he was 'un-American'; if he had, his kindness and mercy would have ensured that there was no misuse of the 'passions of his fellow-men' (Ibid). The man was seeking personal gain 'out of the passions of his fellow-men' therefore the man's self-interest became more important than 'being a thorough American'. At the same time 'the man's' self-interest was stopping other 'fellow-men' from being 'thorough Americans', as such 'the man' was 'un-American'. Another connotation which may be drawn from this is the importance of individualism; 'the man' used others rather than being reliant upon his own endeavours, which suggests 'the man' was 'un-American'.

The subsequent sentence put the audience in no doubt regarding Wilson's support for the Calvinist pillar of Nature's Nation. Wilson emphasized the point in the continued characterization of 'the man':

He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite (Wilson, 1915).

Once again Wilson was highlighting Calvinist ideals: 'America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift ... to better the ideals of men ... make sure of the things that unite'. Wilson was reiterating the concept that society is founded upon, what Bellah (1975) describes as, the deep inner loyalty of its members. Wilson ended this paragraph emphasizing the importance of remaining united, or more accurately, of being 'thorough Americans' stating:

It was but an historical accident no doubt that this great country was called the 'United States'; ... the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest in this great Union is striking at its very heart (Wilson, 1915).

Wilson was once again accentuating the need for the immigrants to conduct themselves in a specific way in order to be 'thorough Americans' (Ibid).

Indeed the sentiments delivered by Wilson were reminiscent of those of Thomas Jefferson who wrote in concluding the Declaration of Independence:

*And for the support of this declaration, with a
firm reliance on the protection of divine providence,
we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our
fortunes, and our sacred honor (Jefferson, 1776)*⁷³.

RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM:



Figure 3 Creating Man⁷⁴

Arguably the next paragraph in Wilson's 1915 Naturalization Ceremony speech follows the line of the first paragraph and the myth of Adamic rebirth. However, before Wilson focused on that aspect, the first sentence used the imagery of the Chosen People to recapture sentiments felt by the immigrants when they made their journey to America. Wilson stated:

⁷³ This quote is directly from the concluding sentence of the Declaration of Independence. <http://www.ushistory.org/declaration/document> [accessed 02 January 2010].

⁷⁴ Fig. 1 is 'Michelangelo's painting of the Sistine Chapel'. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/The-measure-of-Genius-Michelangelo-Sistine-Chapel-at-500.html> [accessed 01 September 2011].

*you were drawn across the ocean by some
beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by
some vision of a new kind of justice (Wilson, 1915).*

It is suggested the purpose of creating that imagery was to inspire the immigrants with notions of their own Chosen People status. The words, 'finger', 'hope', 'justice' carry meaning for Christians that talk to the soul; Christian symbolism within that line can be found in I Tim. 6:11. The 'finger' as a Christian symbol is represented in the Sistine Chapel (see Fig. 1), Michelangelo's well known depiction of 'God creating Adam with a finger'; however Graham-Dixon (2009) interprets the painting differently suggesting that the finger is the channel through which God's intelligence, his morality and his ideas permeate man. Consequently, rather than creating Adam, Graham-Dixon (2009) argues God is creating the education of Adam. The exact interpretation of the painting is not part of this thesis, but the fact that scholars' debate the painting's 'true' meaning is evidence of its mythical value within Christian symbolism. At the same time Wilson's reference to both 'finger' and 'justice' signified the justice of God in having enabled the immigrants' arrival and re-birth into American society. By so doing Wilson gave the immigrants a stake in both the myth of Adamic rebirth (myth of origin) and the Chosen Nation. Wilson therefore, gave the immigrants a feeling of belonging, of being part of the 'us' and, following that added:

*No man that does not see visions will ever
realize any high hope or undertake any high
enterprise. Just because you brought dreams*

*with you, America is more likely to realize dreams
such as you brought (Wilson, 1915).*

By constructing the paragraph in that way, Wilson had the capacity to emphasize belonging and at the same time to suggest the invaluable role immigrants played in keeping the 'American dream' alive, through a constant Adamic rebirth, and part of America's exceptionalism.

It was important that Wilson made the immigrants feel part of America's 'united society' by granting them a stake in American myths, particularly as it was the first sentence of the following paragraph in which Wilson began, once again, to underline the differences between America and other nations.

Wilson stated:

*See, my friends ... Americans must have a
consciousness different from the consciousness
of every other nation in the world (Wilson, 1915).*

Wilson, as earlier in the speech, was careful here not to draw on binary opposites for his constructions of otherness but, rather, utilized Derrida's (1981, 2001) 'difference' model. Wilson stated: 'I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations' (Wilson, 1915). Wilson, then followed that statement with an analogy between America and its position on the global platform and that of a family and its position with all of its neighbours. Wilson stated:

So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new

sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind (Wilson, 1915).

It is contended that Wilson delivered the speech aware of all of the possible audiences and incorporated his theories within a religious preaching style that added authority and gravitas to his speech. Wilson stated 'America ... touches hearts with all nations of mankind'. The phrase was perhaps utilized as a reference that Christians have always been expected to love even those who hate them (Matt. 5:43-47), or 'strive for peace with all men' (Heb. 12:4, Rom. 12:18). The different audiences ranged from the immigrants partaking in the Naturalization Ceremony, immigrants and US citizens, to journalists, citizens and government officials from across the world who may have read the speech. Wilson clearly had no intention, at that time, of America entering WWI. Under such circumstances it appears, looking at the speech as a rhetorical critic, that Wilson illustrated America's position through a distinctly religious righteousness. The faintly veiled religious imagery, if sometimes wrapped in utilitarian ideals, was patently used for the purpose of adopting the higher moral ground, America's exceptional position in the world. Interestingly it was not until the last quarter of the speech that Wilson made reference to the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*, but even then it was not mentioned by name. Wilson, when referring to the incident, continued the preaching style, perhaps even more flagrantly, by stating:

The example of America must be a special example.

The example of America must be the example not

*merely of peace because it will not fight,
but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating
influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a
thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a
thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to
convince others by force that it is right' (Wilson, 1915).*

The contention of this thesis is that Wilson adopted an overt preaching style when suggesting the immigrants and all patriotic Americans needed to be 'special example[s]'. Wilson's oratorical education (Kraig, 2004) would indicate that he understood by re-emphasizing and continually associating the Christian example with being a 'good' American the notion would have carried more sway. Indeed the Christian example is key in numerous bible quotations, two come to mind (I Tim. 4:12, or I Thess. 1:7) which state:

*Let no man despise you for your youth; but be thou an
example of the believers, in word, in conversation,
in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity (1 Tim. 4:12)⁷⁵.
And ... So that ye were ensamples to all that believe
in Macedonia and Achaia (I Thess. 1:7)⁷⁶.*

Wilson's analogy of 'special example' was a reference to the example of God, as Christians often point to God's example from which to draw lessons.

⁷⁵ King James Bible (2011) *The Official 1769 King James Bible: Authorized Version*. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=1+Timothy&chapter=4&verse=12> [accessed 30 September 2011].

⁷⁶ This quotation comes from *The Official 1769 King James Bible: Authorized Version*. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=1+Thessalonians&chapter=1&verse=7> [accessed 30 September 2011].

Further corroboration for that is at the end of that quote, 'when a nation is so right'. The statement may have been Wilson's way of alluding to Christian expectations that followers of God remain righteous by living rightly. Rom. 10:3 states:

For they being ignorant of God's righteousness and seeking to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted to the righteousness of God (King James Bible)⁷⁷.

Arguably, Wilson was indicating the correct approach to be adopted by patriotic Americans as the Chosen People. In that example Wilson was asserting that as the Chosen Nation, it was up to America to show an example to the world and remain outside the war.

The last two paragraphs, by following that hiatus, lose, to a great extent the ability to arouse the same sentiments as the first three quarters of the speech. However, near the end of the last paragraph Wilson recaptures his original style, to the extent that it mirrors the beginning of the speech. Wilson announced:

... and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been my fellow-citizens a long time or a short time ... the living vitality in your hearts ... which have made America the

⁷⁷ This quotation comes from *The Official 1769 King James Bible, Authorized Version*. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Romans-10-3/> [accessed 02 October 2011].

hope of the world (Wilson, 1915).

As with the beginning of the speech, Wilson ended on a high note with imagery signifying first the immigrants as Chosen People, and then highlighting America's Chosen Nation status.

RHETORICAL COMPARISON:

This comparison will be different from that of Bush and other Presidents being examined within this thesis insofar as the two speeches will not be viewed in parallel, because Wilson did not refer to an aggressor in his speech.

However, that in itself is probably the most significant point of comparison, and the way in which the coeval media interpreted that omission will be highlighted in the comparison. Indeed, if one was not aware of the date of the speech, and the date of the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*, one could be forgiven for not knowing that the two had any connection. It is also possible to argue that Wilson's language needed to remain that of an objective isolationist, as *RMS Lusitania* was not an American vessel and passengers had been clearly warned of the dangers prior to travelling.

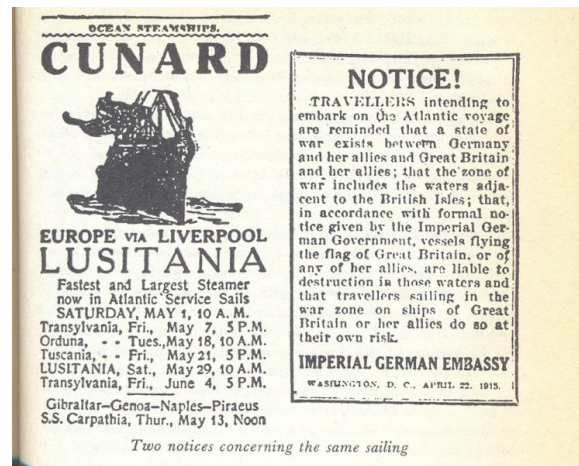


Figure 4 Lusitania Notice⁷⁸

However, the very appearance of this advert in an American national newspaper is perhaps the most significant point. Examining this from the perspective of someone living in the twenty-first century it is surprising that any nation was allowed to put an advert in an American national newspaper stating that American citizens would be liable to attack if they went on a cruise. This may suggest that perceptions around ‘freedom of the press’, when America was a very young country with a sizable proportion of recent immigrants, facilitated a greater tolerance regarding a diversity of views being voiced. It also highlights that Germany was not concerned about reprisals from the American government for stating its determination to attack ships that included American passengers on board.

The only reference Wilson made to the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* was:

*There is such a thing as a man being too proud
to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being
so right that it does not need to convince others*

⁷⁸ Printed in: The New York Times, April 7, 1915. Reproduced from Link, 1963: 165

by force that it is right (Wilson, 1915).

The quote revealed Wilson's unwillingness, at that point, to either define the aggressor of the attack or to take the American people into the war.

Thompson (2002) indicates that as a response to the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*, Allied nations, Washington statesmen such as Theodore Roosevelt, other internationalists and the North Eastern newspapers were outraged by these remarks, considering them a manifestation of impotence; all were desperate for the Americans to join the war against Germany. However, Wilson was unmoved by such feelings and in the subsequent days Wilson claimed while speaking to the press that:

*I was expressing a personal attitude that was
all. I did not really have in mind any specific thing.
I did not regard that as a proper occasion to give
any intimation of policy on any special matter
(Thompson, 2002: 111)⁷⁹.*

Wilson was characterized by the North Eastern newspapers as being weak and ineffectual. Similarly, as witnessed with the words of Bush on the evening of 9/11, when academics and Washington insiders wanted stronger 'policy' statements, what they received was an address full of metaphors and mythical imagery signifying rhetorical constructions of Otherness.

⁷⁹ Remarks at a press conference, 11th May 1915, Papers of Woodrow Wilson, vol. 33: 153: quoted in Thompson, J.A. (2002: 111).

There is a striking similarity in that as previously described, North Eastern newspapers, Washington internationalists and the Allies considered Wilson's message a sign of weakness. However, Link (1963) states:

Few Americans wanted to go to war to avenge the wrong [sinking of RMS Lusitania]. The great majority applauded when Wilson acted deliberately during the crisis, even when he declared in a speech in Philadelphia on May 10 that 'There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight' (Link, 1963: 164-165, quoting from Wilson, 1915).

Perhaps most notable about this quote is that Link (1963) identified that while there were critics to Wilson's speech and its lack of policy commitment, the vast majority of Americans supported Wilson's lack of decisive action. Similarly, Polling Report (2011) and Roper (2012) reveal that 86% of the American public supported Bush's job satisfaction rate two days after 9/11, unlike Rudalevige (2010) who described it as 'meandering bellicosity'. The commonality of the addresses lies in the fact that both Presidents spoke to the concerns of the citizenry rather than meeting the needs of the Washington insiders.

Perhaps something more subtle but nevertheless evident is the way Wilson's comments defending his remarks at the Naturalizing Ceremony highlight the effect the media has had in changing what is considered a suitable forum from which President's may introduce new policy initiatives. Wilson thought it

entirely inappropriate to mention the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* or the loss of life from that event and consequently the American response to the incident; despite American and European nationals being in attendance during the Naturalizing Ceremony. In contrast, Bush and his aides considered it entirely appropriate for the President of the United States to sit and read with ten year olds as a pre-cursor to announcing a new Education Bill (whilst not transpiring that way due to the events of 9/11 that was the purpose of Bush's visit to Emma E. Booker Primary School on that morning).

Wilson made a decision in his first address to fashion his presidential rhetoric around the discourse of American patriotism and domestic unity rather than policy initiatives, as did Bush nearly a century later. By so doing, it enabled each President to choose their course of action from a position in which the boundaries of the *why* and *how* exposition were delineated.

The disparate media technology eras reflected in the available coverage of each attack and the ability of the American public to relate to the respective attacks influenced the alacrity with which each President responded. This is demonstrated by the fact that Bush delivered an address on the evening of the attack and defined the aggressor throughout, within the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). In comparison, Wilson made an address three days after the attack and did not overtly refer to the aggressor at all. Perhaps even more striking was the venue and orchestration around each of the Presidents' addresses. Bush made an emphatic arrival in Washington and the 'stage'

upon which his address was delivered was replete with imagery signifying the value of the rhetorical presidency (as explained in Chapter One illustrated in Chapter Eight), the address was then transmitted live around the world.

Alternatively, Wilson's address after the sinking of the *RMS Lusitania* was delivered to a small group of people with the wider public only hearing about it later through newspaper coverage.

This chapter has highlighted throughout the significance of Wilson's religious background, as the son of a preacher, and the influence that obviously played in Wilson's rhetorical style. At times during the speech it sounds more like sermon delivered from the pulpit rather than a Naturalization Ceremony, although that needs to be placed within the context of the historical era in which it was uttered. In 1915 the relatively large proportion of foreign born American citizens and immigrants who originated from the countries at war created a concern about the possible repercussions of internal dissent. Apart from which, at that point in history America, while a leading nation, was not in the position it was after WWII when it was the world's hegemonic nation. Nevertheless, perhaps the most evident difference between the Presidents was the rhetorical event with which each had to deal.

The difference between the events was vast. In 1915, with war raging in Europe, a British cruise liner was torpedoed with American persons killed while travelling onboard. This occurred after Americans had been forewarned by the aggressor of the possible dangers of travelling on that particular cruise

liner. It was an incident that many Americans across the continent would not have been made aware of in the immediate aftermath, but in answering the exigence Wilson promoted a discourse of patriotism through non-aggressive reaction to that particular rhetorical situation. On the other hand, Bush, leader of the world's hegemonic nation, was confronted with a situation that caught the American nation 'off-guard' and was visible for the world to witness. Terrorists, not a country's military but a group of individuals or loosely connected groups, completely destroyed American iconic images while killing thousands of civilian victims. The nature of the attack however left the American populace in fear, dread, and miraculous wonderment (that some people survived) which enabled Bush to utilize the rhetoric of otherness through American myths to great effect. The differences between the events created circumstances that required each President to promote a discourse of patriotism, but for very different ends.

CONCLUSION:

This chapter has revealed that Wilson's oratorical education and personal background facilitated him utilizing presidential rhetoric after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* in a manner almost synonymous with a preacher at the pulpit. The speech was overflowing with conspicuously religious imagery and metaphor, although clearly not endeavouring to use that imagery for the purposes of the rhetoric of otherness. Instead, Wilson used his rhetoric employing constructions of otherness, but in a way that Derrida (1981, 2001)

characterizes as constructions of *difference* and *hospitality* respectively. This chapter highlighted that the circumstances surrounding the event (the sinking of *RMS Lusitania*) and the type of media technology available meant that the American public were not always aware of the event or sympathetic to its consequences. The historical period with Europe in the midst of war and relatively large numbers of recent immigrants to America originating from across the disparate regions of Europe, created a situation in which Wilson needed to consider domestic stability in all of his utterances.

The way Wilson decided to use the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) after the rhetorical event, for the reasons outlined above, differed markedly from the way in which Bush used his presidential rhetoric after 9/11. However, there were two striking similarities between each of the Presidents and their respective rhetoric after the events. Firstly, each President used American myths to explain to the public *how*, as good or patriotic Americans they needed to respond to their respective events. Secondly, each President decided the best approach in the immediate aftermath⁸⁰ after the respective attack was to use their presidential rhetoric in a way that the American public appreciated, even though contemporary Washington insiders and influential elites criticised their outcomes.

⁸⁰ In the immediate aftermath: is being used in relative terms within the specific contextual setting of each circumstance.

CHAPTER SIX

‘THE DAY OF INFAMY SPEECH’

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter will scrutinize critically the way President Franklin D. Roosevelt⁸¹ utilized presidential rhetoric after the attack on Pearl Harbor, and compare and contrast that with Bush's presidential rhetoric, post 9/11. The analysis will reveal the similarities and the differences between the presidential rhetoric of each and the purpose for which it was used. This is achieved principally by examining Roosevelt's 'Declaration of War to Japan' speech, the 1942 State of the Union address and Bush's 2002 State of the Union address.

The similarities and differences between Roosevelt and Bush's presidential rhetoric stem not only from the unique attack each experienced, but importantly, the cultural era in which they were situated. It was Neustadt (1990: 11) that suggested presidential rhetoric should be understood as the 'power to persuade'. Bitzer (1999) asserted that the scale and magnitude of the 'rhetorical situation' influences the effectiveness of presidential rhetoric. Finkelstein (2011: 21) insists it is important to examine presidential rhetoric post-attack because a leader's 'foreign policy often becomes a very good sign of who they really are'. Consequently, this chapter will help to construct an understanding of the differences between the way Bush, post 9/11, used the constructions of otherness and the way in which the previous presidential

⁸¹ Throughout the remainder of this chapter Franklin D. Roosevelt, 32nd President of the United States, will be referred to as Roosevelt. The reference should not be confused with Theodore Roosevelt, 26th President of the United States.

rhetoric of Roosevelt was crafted after the unique rhetorical situation of Pearl Harbor.

When considering which speeches represent suitable comparisons between Bush, post 9/11 and Roosevelt, post Pearl Harbor, academic opinion differs. Campbell and Huxman (2009) suggest a proper comparison is between Bush's October 7, 2001 speech and Roosevelt's December 8th, 1941 speech the 'Declaration of War with Japan', as they both constitute 'war rhetoric'. Rudalevige (2010) compares Bush's September 20th, 2001 speech, in which Bush defined his post 9/11 foreign policy, with that of President Truman's Korean foreign policy. It is the contention of this thesis that an interesting and important aspect of understanding presidential rhetoric after a rhetorical situation relies on analysing critically the similarities and differences of their initial and ongoing early responses.

While Chapter Eight analyses Bush's use of the rhetoric of otherness in his 'Awful Oval Address' as a means of persuading the American public about the *why* and *how* exposition, this chapter will reflect upon that as a comparison to Roosevelt's 'Declaration of War with Japan' speech. A detailed examination of Roosevelt's initial response follows, revealing that it may not always be about *why* the attacks occurred and *how* America needed to respond; however, Roosevelt achieved his aims in an exceedingly different way to Bush.

ROOSEVELT'S ADDRESS:

President Roosevelt's 'Declaration of War with Japan' speech delivered on the 8th December 1941 to a joint session of the United States Congress is, perhaps, one of his most widely known addresses. Roosevelt began by addressing the different members of Congress as etiquette dictates, then immediately commenced with the actual speech:

*Yesterday, December 7, 1941 – a date which
will live in infamy – the United States of America
was suddenly and deliberately attacked...
(Roosevelt, 1941b).⁸²*

The potent piece of rhetoric, the descriptive nature of the word 'infamy' invoked the images of a heinous act, but at the same time a dishonourable act and consequently, an act upon an innocent nation. The sentences that followed consolidated that image through an explanation of *how*.

*The United States was at peace with that nation⁸³,
and, at the solicitation of Japan ... looking toward
the maintenance of peace in the Pacific'
(Roosevelt, 1941b).*

⁸² Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1941b) 'Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War with Japan' December 8. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16053>. [Accessed 14 December 2009] Appendix 1.6.

⁸³ Perhaps President Bill Clinton remembered these words when declaring on March 29, 1997: 'I did not have sexual relations with 'that woman'. These were exceedingly different circumstances but there appears a similarity of purpose between the Presidents, namely, to dehumanize or create an object of otherness.

It is contended that the purpose of defining Japan as 'that nation' was at one level to show distress and grief, 'that nation' abused the United States' trust and by implication, the USA was an innocent victim. At another level however, by describing Japan as 'that nation', Roosevelt was utilizing language to differentiate Japan from civilized nations, Japan becoming a 'thing' rather than a country with men, women and children, in a construction of otherness.

The two sentences that followed went into detail regarding who met with whom (Japanese Ambassador and US Secretary of State) and when that transpired, in relation to the attacks, although the detail given within the speech regarding meetings between dignitaries would be superfluous in today's media culture. That combined with the following two sentences, in which Roosevelt (1941b) insisted that the attack must have been 'planned many days or even weeks ago' implies that during the period while negotiations continued, America was being duped. Roosevelt carried that idea further:

*the Japanese Government has deliberately
sought to deceive the United States by false
statements and expressions of hope for
continued peace (Roosevelt, 1941b).*

Today's media would have been following the negotiations throughout; indeed after each and every step historical, political, economic and diplomatic

‘experts’ would have delivered considerable analyses on the possibility that the negotiations would succeed or fail. However, in the media context of 1941 a significant amount of detail was required for the general public to understand the context of the events.

After illustrating Japan’s misleading pronouncements during the binary negotiations, Roosevelt went on to itemize every single ancillary attack, automatically adding gravitas to the scale and severity of the situation:

*The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands
has caused severe damage to American naval
and military forces. I regret to tell you that very
many American lives have been lost. In addition,
American ships have been reported torpedoed on
the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.
Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched
an attack against Malaya.
Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.
Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.
Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.
Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. And this morning the
Japanese attacked Midway Island (Roosevelt, 1941b).*

One purpose of the speech of course was to enlighten the American people, and particularly Congressional members, as to the status of the attacks, but primarily this speech was intended to encourage the Congressional members

to declare war on Japan – guiding *how* they needed to respond. It may also have been a way of ensuring the American people believed they were, de facto, at war with Japan thus increasing pressure on Congress from below. At the same time, by employing anaphora through the repetition of the places attacked, Roosevelt was reinforcing the wronged innocence of the United States thus guaranteeing Congressional members' support for a 'Declaration of War to Japan'. Rank (1984) argues that politicians employ repetition within speeches in the expectation that the audience will become imbued and recollect without conscious effort, making it easier to direct their actions and consent.

Another possible consideration is that Roosevelt's repetition of the different attacks across the Pacific area reminded Congress of their duty regarding their constituents' safety. Roosevelt (1941b) stated: 'The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation'. Then, to underline the importance of what had just been said, one sentence later, and in three of the last five sentences, Roosevelt repeated the same idea in several different ways, proclaiming:

*No matter how long it may take us to overcome
this premeditated invasion, the American people,
in their righteous might, will win through to absolute
victory. I believe that I interpret the will of the
Congress and of the people when I assert that we
will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but*

*will make it very certain that this form of treachery
shall never again endanger us. ... With confidence
in our armed forces, with the un-bounding determination
of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph.
So help us God ... (Roosevelt, 1941b)*

In those last sentences Roosevelt utilized American religious myths, arguably in a more astute manner than Bush had managed in the 'Awful Oval Address'. The first of these last three sentences was replete with religious connotations, Roosevelt (1941b) beginning by saying '...to overcome this premeditated invasion'. The word 'overcome' brings to mind the spiritual hymn 'We Will Overcome'⁸⁴ and this was followed by the term 'premeditated invasion'. When people are killed in everyday life it only becomes murder when this killing is 'premeditated', therefore, Roosevelt (1941b) was saying that 'these [were] murderous acts', as opposed to a mere act of aggression.

This was further accentuated when Roosevelt (1941b), in the same sentence, declared: 'the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory'. Roosevelt's analogy had the capacity for creating a perception that the American people were 'sacred' or 'God-like' (righteous) and, therefore, blameless and innocent victims of the attack. Perhaps even more importantly, Roosevelt (1941b) specified that the American people were not only righteous, but 'in their righteous might' thus ensuring that the

⁸⁴ This hymn dates back to 1901 and was written by Rev. Charles Tindley of Philadelphia. Online: http://www.cyberhymnal.org/bio/t/i/tindley_ca.htm [accessed 20 July 2010]. Appendix 1.7.

sentence was transformed into a matter of the 'good' (blameless) triumphing over 'evil' (murderous acts) in a 'win through to absolute victory' (Ibid). This profuse righteous language invokes American exceptionalism and the need for good to prevail over evil.

This analysis illustrates that not only was Roosevelt reminding the American public that America was an Innocent Nation but also, and possibly more significantly, that America was the 'good' an exceptional nation that would triumph over 'evil'. Therefore, another possible interpretation is that Roosevelt (1941b) was alluding to the Chosen Nation '[I] will make very certain that this form of treachery will never again endanger us ... our armed forces ... will gain inevitable triumph.' That sentence was immediately followed by: 'So help us God', a phrase often used to end a prayer. Roosevelt (1941b) reiterated the concept of good (our armed forces) over evil (inevitable triumph) within a battlefield context, the combination with 'so help us God' consolidating the idea of the Christian soldier working within the role of the Chosen Nation in pursuit of 'good' over 'evil' and calling on God's help with that endeavour. It is reminiscent of the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic'⁸⁵ which is replete with religious imagery and often used during rhetorical circumstances that require a call for national unity. Interestingly, the hymn was played during the 14th September 2001 National Day of Prayer and Remembrance Service held at the American National Cathedral (Meyssan, 2002).

⁸⁵ Howe, Julia Ward (1862) 'The Battle Hymn of the Republic', *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. IX, No. LII. <http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/unbound/flashbks/battlehymn-original.htm> [accessed 15 June 2010]. Appendix 1.8 hymn lyrics.

Aim of the Speech:

While the American public heard that speech via radio transmission, it is important to remember the objectives of that speech were not only to inform the American public but also to encourage Congress to declare war on Japan. In the latter respect Roosevelt accomplished what he set out to do, with all but one member voting for the United States of America to declare war on Japan as of December 7, 1941. Nevertheless, the scale and ferocity of the Pearl Harbor attack resulted in huge losses for the United States military with respect to: the total loss of life, the amount of people injured, the large numbers of military installations damaged and the humiliation of the surprise attack⁸⁶. Therefore, it is suggested that the scale of the attack would have been persuasion enough for Congress to declare war on Japan without the need for that speech. However, it would have been important for Roosevelt (1941b) to create an image of the severity of the Pearl Harbor attack that the American public could fully appreciate, and aims with which they could identify. It is important to remember that for the vast majority of the American public it was Roosevelt's (1941b), also known as the 'Day of Infamy' speech, which was the first full report given on the extent of the bombings on the outlying islands within the Pacific Ocean, and the full extent of the damage to

⁸⁶ Department of Defense (1991) 50th Anniversary of World War II Commemorative Committee. *Pearl Harbor: 50th Anniversary Commemorative Chronicle A Grateful Nation Remembers 1941-1991*. Washington: Government Publication. Online: <http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq66-1.htm> [accessed 07 July 2009].

Pearl Harbor itself. Consequently, it may be asserted that the 'Declaration of War' speech was more about Roosevelt stamping his authority on the United States' reaction to the Pearl Harbor attacks. By so doing Roosevelt was, in reality, creating the discourse on American foreign policy through which both Congress and the American public would understand what was expected of them.

In that respect Roosevelt (1941b) was successful, by starting the speech with the phrase 'a date which will live in Infamy', the unique rhetorical quality resulted in the speech remaining well remembered over seventy years later. Roosevelt (1941b) invoked much more subtle language than Bush (2001c), when invoking the myths of America's significance as an Innocent Nation and a exceptional nation; the speech itself, 'Declaration of War with Japan', was delivered a full day after the atrocities. A lack of disseminated photographic evidence at that point would suggest that millions of Americans were still oblivious to the amount of devastation endured by the attacks, and casualty figures were still to be deduced. Whilst radio stations were quick to interrupt normal programming on December 7th, 1941 with news bulletins, the American public remained unaware of many of the facts around the attack, therefore Roosevelt's (1941b) speech to Congress was greatly anticipated by the American public as much as by Congress. Examined from a period when twenty-four hour news reporting is the norm, it seems quite amazing that the American public were willing to wait an entire twenty-four hours after the event before hearing anything from their President. In today's media frenzy that

would be seen as an admission of weakness on the part of the President, but that was not the case in 1941.

There are other significant differences between Bush's (2001c) 'Awful Oval Address' and Roosevelt's (1941b) 'Declaration of War with Japan'. Perhaps the most obvious is the historical and cultural period in which they occurred. In December 1941 war had been raging in Europe for over two years and in South East Asia since 1937 with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Nearly a year prior to the Pearl Harbor attack Roosevelt communicated with the American public warnings that they might be targeted:

*As long as the aggressor nations [Axis Powers] maintain
the offensive, they - not we – will choose the time and
the place and the method of their attack. That is why
the future of all the American Republics is today
in serious danger (Roosevelt, 1941a ⁸⁷).*

The significance of that statement is that while unquestionably the Pearl Harbor attack was a huge shock to the American people, some form of attack had been anticipated. The shock experienced did still fulfil Otto's (1973) criteria regarding the suitability for using the 'rhetoric of otherness' after an event for the purpose of influencing reactions⁸⁸, but Roosevelt's forewarnings,

⁸⁷ Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1941a) 'Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union' January 6. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. *American Presidency Project*. Online: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=16092> [accessed 13 August 2011].

Appendix 1.9.

⁸⁸ Otto's (1973) criteria for the 'rhetoric of otherness' being influential: fear or terror, demonic dread, and overwhelming wonderment (that anyone survived). See Chapter One.

and the volume of serious concerns reflected in the media throughout 1939-1941 regarding the war, played an interesting role. The foreboding rhetoric instilled in the American public an immediate understanding of *why* the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred. Another possible reason for using such foreboding language may have been to highlight the vulnerability of the United States, as Isolationist perceptions were still prevalent at this time. When the war began in 1939 only 20% of Americans wanted to offer aid to the Allies, the reason furnished was that by doing so it would drag the US into the war in Europe (Casey, 2001). The Isolationists' attitudes still prevailed in June 1940 with two thirds of Americans wanting to remain out of the war in Europe even if it resulted in Britain falling (Cole, 1983).

This historical background is also an indicator as to why Roosevelt (1941b) was immediately able to use his first speech after the attack as a means of defining foreign policy, namely, a 'Declaration of War with Japan'. The position being put forward is that Roosevelt had been using religious myths in his 'fireside chats' for describing the war since the preceding December. Roosevelt (1940) it is suggested, was initiating a patriotic discourse but for the purpose of domestic concerns. For example, Roosevelt on 29th December 1940 in his 'Fireside Chat' stated:

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our

democratic faith! (Roosevelt (1940a) in Buhite and Levy, 1992: 173)⁸⁹

This one sentence from Roosevelt's 'chat' reveals the way he used religious references to promote patriotism, for example, 'profound conviction' is often used to describe a person's religious belief, rather than as a way of encouraging increased manufacturing production. Roosevelt (1940a) went on to ask the American people to 'put forth a mightier effort', the word 'mighty' conjuring up the image of 'God almighty'. The fact that it was followed with 'threat to our democratic faith', it is argued, implies that Roosevelt (1940a) was endeavouring to persuade the nation that increasing manufacturing production was both a patriotic call to arms and a religious duty; possibly, it was the religious duty of Americans to be patriotic and the way to demonstrate that was by increasing manufacturing production.

The example of the 1941 State of the Union Address and the December 1940 'Fireside Chat' *Arsenal of Democracy* however, call into question another point of comparison. The contention of this thesis is that the rhetorical situation in this case the attack on Pearl Harbor, gave the President an opportunity to use the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) for promoting a patriotic discourse used for defining American foreign policy aspirations. The 1941 State of the Union Address and the 1940 *Arsenal of Democracy* 'chat' might appear to contradict this, but the contention being put forward is that they merely confirm the

⁸⁹ Buhite, R. and Levy, D. (eds.) (1992) *FDR's Fireside Chats*. Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press. The December 29, 1940 Fireside Chat, 'The Arsenal of Democracy: Introducing Lend-Lease' the book has been referenced because this was the source for reading Roosevelt's 'fireside chat'. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=15917> [04 December 2011] Appendix 2.0.

argument. Despite the fact that Roosevelt was delivering that rhetoric at a time when war was raging in different areas of the world and America's safety was not guaranteed. Roosevelt (1941a) did not employ the constructions of otherness but merely used the religious myths for 'warning purposes' regarding *why* attacks may occur. Alternatively, the rhetoric was used for describing 'patriotic duty' or the *how* Americans needed to respond within a purely domestic sense, namely, increasing manufacturing production as illustrated in Roosevelt's (1940a) *Arsenal of Democracy* 'chat'. It was only after the attack on Pearl Harbor that Roosevelt (1941b), and even more so four weeks later in 1942, ushered in a patriotic discourse, which defined *why* and *how* Americans needed to respond with regard to foreign policy declarations.

The way in which different Presidents have approached 'capturing the imagination' of the American public has been quite diverse in these first addresses delivered after the respective attacks. Roosevelt's (1941b) references of otherness, whilst using religious myths in the sense of secular religious terms (described previously in Chapter Three) did not contain the same amount of imagery as Bush, post 9/11. For example, Roosevelt (1941b) in defining the enemy, referred to Japan fairly bluntly as 'that nation'. In comparison, Bush (2001c) in the 'Awful Oval Address' referred to the perpetrators of 9/11: 'Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror'⁹⁰. The examples illustrated delineate the obvious

⁹⁰ See Appendix 1.3 for the full transcript of this speech and Chapter Five for an elucidation on Bush's language in that statement.

rhetorical differences between Roosevelt and Bush after their respective atrocities. Interestingly, Roosevelt's characterization of the enemy in his 1942 State of the Union address used very similar language and imagery to Bush's characterization of the enemy in his 2002 State of the Union address.

1942 STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS:

The uniqueness of the Pearl Harbor attack and its seminal historical nature matches the criteria of the rhetorical situation. Therefore, Roosevelt's first State of the Union address on January 6, 1942, a mere four weeks after the attack, was an opportunity for the rhetoric of otherness to carry serious sway. Roosevelt's (1942) State of the Union address differs significantly from his own 'Declaration of War with Japan' speech however, some parallels can be drawn with Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. Therefore to illustrate the parallels and divergences in the way both used the rhetoric of otherness, an analysis of Roosevelt's (1942) speech will be followed by a comparison of their respective State of the Union addresses.

In the first sentence Roosevelt said:

*...I am proud to say to you that the spirit of the
American people was never higher than it is today –
the Union was never more closely knit together –
this country was never more deeply determined to*

face the solemn tasks before it (Roosevelt, 1942)⁹¹.

Roosevelt needed to emphasize American unity, as hundreds of thousands of US troops would be shipped to various war fronts, primarily at that stage in Europe, but by the end of WWII to every continent around the world. Casey (2001) indicates that within four days of the Pearl Harbor attack the principal isolationist group, America First, folded. Polenberg (1972) states that after Pearl Harbor, opinion polls regularly displayed the great majority of the American public supported America's involvement in the war. Roosevelt (1942) initiated the call to unity with the phrase, 'spirit of the American people', an often used phrase in aspects of American society and culture, and continued to use the word 'spirit' in many different ways throughout the speech so that a little further detail is worthwhile to expand on the connotations.

Speaking metaphorically, 'spirit' is used across the US as part of everyday life, for example: team spirit, class spirit, school spirit, state spirit (usually described by the state demonym, for example, 'Hoosier spirit' for someone from Indiana) and national spirit as described by Roosevelt (1942) in that instance. At the same time in mysticism 'spirit' relates to life in unity with Godhead (Estes, 1992). Estes (1992) insists that at times 'spirit' and soul are used interchangeably, but the soul implies established individual human consciousness, while the 'spirit' originates from beyond the human

⁹¹ Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1942) 'State of the Union Address' January 6. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. *The American Presidency Project*: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=16253> [accessed 06 July 2009]. See Appendix 2.1.

consciousness. If used in the metaphysical sense, 'spirit', within a general theological understanding, refers to the individual human 'spirit' which is situated at the core of the soul, open to 'spiritual' growth and development (Rausch, 1993). Milligan (1993) suggests that the 'spirit' is the very source of emotion and desire, and the communicating organ by which human beings have the ability to communicate with God. Interestingly, within Christian Science one of the seven synonyms for God is 'Spirit', as well as 'Life', 'Love', 'Mind', 'Principle', 'Soul', and 'Truth' (Chapple, 1993). Whilst recognizing that Roosevelt (1942) had not used 'Spirit' but rather 'spirit' the address was delivered both personally and via the radio and therefore the word 'spirit' still held the capacity to arouse connotations of the 'Spirit'. Bellah (1975) asserts that the term is particularly useful because it has the ability to have meaning both to secularists and Christians alike, and at the same time stimulate Calvinist and Utilitarian ideals (these terms were elucidated upon in Chapter Three and Chapter Five).

Understanding Context:

A fundamental difference between Roosevelt's circumstances during the 1942 State of the Union address and that of Bush's 2002 State of the Union address was the environment prior to the attacks, and this was echoed in Roosevelt's speech. Roosevelt said:

Exactly one year ago today I said to Congress:

*When the dictators ... are ready to make war upon
us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part ...
They – not we – will choose the time and the place
and the method of their attack (Roosevelt, 1942).*

The words reflected the war in Europe and South East Asia which had already begun and the 'Axis Powers', who espoused world conquest (Buhite and Levy, 1993). Roosevelt (1942) therefore, was re-instilling the idea that America was the Innocent Nation, a myth Roosevelt (1941b) used to great effect in the 'Declaration of War with Japan' speech. However, that quote was also a reminder to the American public that America had a responsibility as a member of the Allied coalition, to create and maintain world peace. Roosevelt (1942) in the State of the Union address needed to convince the American public that the best way to ensure American freedom was by engaging the American military in the European theatre of war prior to retaliating against Japan. However, for that to work Roosevelt (1942) needed to develop the background to the attack on Pearl Harbor, for the American people to appreciate the role Japan played within the so-called 'Axis Powers'. By furnishing a synopsis of Japan, Italy and Germany's role within that coalition, Roosevelt (1942) emphasized that Japan was not the 'lead player' within that coalition. At the same time Roosevelt (Ibid) addressed the concerns of the international community, by considering how America would strategically keep in view world safety before American retribution. Roosevelt stated:

*Destruction of the material and spiritual centers
of civilization – this has been and still is the purpose
of Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen. They*

*would wreck the power of the British Commonwealth
and Russia and China and the Netherlands – and
then combine all their forces to achieve their ultimate
goal, the United States (Roosevelt, 1942).*

Arguably, that short paragraph was speaking to many different sections of the audience and at many different levels. It is considered here that Roosevelt (1942) was perhaps saying to the American public that America was one of the key 'material and spiritual' places within the world; implied was the significance of America as the chosen and Exceptional Nation. However, by just using the word spiritual (with all the connotations that invoked as delineated earlier) the illusion was opaque and subtle, and, at the same, time Roosevelt was aligning the spiritual with the material which suggested that because America was a Chosen Nation it was far more 'materially' strong than other nations. That concept was re-enforced in several ways in that same paragraph. The description that '[T]hey would wreck the power of the British Commonwealth and Russia and China and the Netherlands' was saying to the American people that America was far superior to any of the other countries under threat. At the same time that may have been suggesting to the United Nations and particularly the powerful countries mentioned, that they were reliant on America to ensure a victory over the Axis Powers. It is being suggested, that same idea was emphasized in the remainder of the last sentence of the paragraph: 'then combine all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, [defeating] the United States' (Roosevelt, 1942). The sentence may have been understood at an international level as Roosevelt (ibid) claiming that America was the senior partner within the coalition.

At the domestic level Roosevelt may have been reminding Americans that, without their involvement across the various theatres of war it would be the demise for freedom (see Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight for the religious significance of freedom) across the world. The same idea was further strengthened when Roosevelt (1942) stated:

*Gone forever are the days when the aggressors
could attack and destroy their victims one by
one without unity of resistance (Ibid).*

It may also be possible that Roosevelt (1942) was sending a message to the three Axis Powers. Within such an interpretation, arguably Roosevelt's (Ibid) message was that the Axis Powers might be able to topple different countries around the world, but they would be unable to overpower America. Roosevelt (1942) may also have been trying to cause some disunity between the three Axis Powers by using the phrase: 'Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen'. Roosevelt (Ibid) was implying that Italy and Japan were merely Hitler's pawns, perhaps wanting to cause dissention in the ranks. Equally, that clause may have suggested to the American audience that because Hitler was the key orchestrator of any attack, Hitler needed to be targeted prior to Japan. The last point was emphasized on numerous occasions throughout Roosevelt's address, the clearest example being:

*They [Axis powers] know that victory for us means
victory for religion. And they could not tolerate that.*

The world is too small to provide adequate 'living room' for both Hitler and God. In proof of that, the Nazis have now announced their plan for enforcing their new German, pagan religion all over the world – a plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by Mein Kampf and the swastika and the naked sword (Roosevelt, 1942).

To make a powerful argument and ensure American support Roosevelt (Ibid) decided upon delivering a very complicated coalition partnership objective within very simplistic terms – an excellent rhetorical tool. Zheng insists:

Language is a weapon and a powerful tool in winning public support, ... it is also a powerful weapon in the struggle of community against community, worldview against worldview (Zheng, 2000)⁹².

Roosevelt (1942) ignored the intricacies of different Axis members' religious diversity, of Italy's agreement with the Catholic Church, and of the Japanese Shinto culture; instead the phrase was labelling it all under an atheistic umbrella of 'Mein Kampf'. Indeed, Roosevelt (1942) was not merely stating that Germany had atheist ideals, but that Hitler was actually Evil. The description chosen in the second sentence of that quote: 'The world is too small to provide adequate 'living room' for both Hitler and God' illustrates that point (Ibid). Christians believe that God is everywhere and within each and every person. The only thing God competes for space with is the Devil/Satan

⁹² Zheng, Tongtao (2000) <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/> [accessed 08 April 2008].

which may also be understood as Evil, and the audience may have adopted a less religious and more secularist understanding one in which Hitler is an 'evil doer' or has 'evil ways', the different meanings all require for evil to be eliminated.

Interestingly, Roosevelt throughout the 1942 State of the Union address singled out Hitler as the focal point for using religious connotations within the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). That does not diminish the fact that Roosevelt had given a summation of Japan's deceitful and untrustworthy ways within the speech, but acknowledges that the religious imagery and symbolism was saved for references to Hitler. This was despite the fact that Pearl Harbor was the rhetorical situation and met the criteria that Otto (1973) identified as necessary for the 'rhetoric of otherness' to hold the greatest possible power to persuade.

In this thesis it is proposed that the reason that Roosevelt (1942) utilized the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) in that way was because it worked at several levels, for example, newspaper headlines throughout 1940-1941 were nearly ten times more likely to have Hitler in the title than Japan, nearly five times more than Italy, and nearly one and three quarters more times than Germany⁹³. The figures indicate that despite the Pearl Harbor attack US

⁹³ The differences between headline titles are representative figures from searches Online: *The New York Times* <http://www.query.nytimes.com/search/query> [accessed 23/24 February 2011]. Using the dates September 18, 1940-December 31, 1941 for timeframe of search, achieved the following numbers in Hitler headline title: Hitler 1,077 times; Japan 134 times; Italy 202; and Germany 665.

citizens were more likely to recognize the name Hitler, than the Japanese leaders or the Japanese military. At the same time it was far easier for individuals to identify Satan/Devil with the image of one person rather than that of a nation or country or even a military force, simply because the images and imagery utilized throughout history, in both popular and serious culture, have always depicted Satan or the Devil as a person or beastly thing (Campbell, 1988). Perhaps the most significant reason Roosevelt (1942) had the ability to portray Hitler within the 'Evil' imagery was because of the time lag between the attacks and people witnessing the attacks via film coverage. In the early 1940s newsreels were shown prior to films at the cinema and, although popular, the public's opportunity to view such footage was brief and limited (Crowley and Heyer, 1999); Briggs & Burke (2005: 183) point out that during WWII *War Report* radio had the distinct advantage of being 'relatively cheap and simple', whilst television was 'costly and cumbersome'. Roosevelt (1941c) therefore managed to embed popular cultural images when characterizing Japanese assaults on Pearl Harbor, before any iconic visual imagery intervened.

Historical context:

It is suggested that Roosevelt (1941c) was far more subtle in constructing the Other through religious connotations a mere two days after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt on the 9th December 1941 delivered the 140th Fireside Chat in which the Japanese were excoriated. On that occasion stating:

*The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by
the Japanese in the Pacific provide the
climax of a decade of international immorality
(Roosevelt (1941c))⁹⁴.*

Roosevelt (1941c) described the attacks as ‘criminal’, rather than evil and actually emphasized that by saying the ‘criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese’. Roosevelt (1941c) was not using terms such as ‘evildoers’ or ‘the devil incarnate’ to describe the Japanese, unlike Bush (2001c) after 9/11. It would appear looking back on the scale and ferocity of destruction caused by the Pearl Harbor attack that Roosevelt was perhaps underplaying the rhetorical opportunities that the attack provided. However, that does not allow for the fact that ‘criminals’ and ‘gangsters’ were common themes within 1930’s film genre. In that same Fireside Chat, Roosevelt (1941c) also referred to the Japanese as ‘resourceful gangsters’, which fits in with the coeval cinematic language.

Throughout the 1930’s gangster films were a popular form of entertainment in which ‘the gangster’ was the archetypal ‘other’, for example the films: *Little Caesar* (1930); *The Public Enemy* (1931); *Scarface* (1932); *Black Fury* (1935); *The Petrified Forest* (1936); and *The Roaring Twenties* (1939)⁹⁵.

Consequently, Roosevelt cleverly described the Japanese within a popular

⁹⁴ Franklin D. Roosevelt President of the United States 1933-1945 140th Fireside Chat. Online: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley John T. *American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/we/index.php?pid=16056&st=&st?1> [accessed 09 September 2010]. Appendix 2.2.

⁹⁵ This list is not an exhaustive list of the available gangster films during the 1930s, but rather, it is meant to a representative list of that genre. 1930s cinematic film: *Cinema and Film 1930s* <http://www.filmsite.org/30'sintro3.html> [accessed 21 June 2010].

cultural understanding of 'otherness' ('criminals' and 'gangsters'), Said (2003) designates the value of such imagery. Roosevelt then went on to suggest the attack had come after ten years of 'international immorality'. Immorality in that instance was being used in the normative sense therefore, it may be considered that the statement was suggesting to the American public *why* Pearl Harbor had occurred. It is contended that Roosevelt's addition of 'international' to immorality reflected the need for the American public to understand the inherent badness of not only the Japanese but of all the Axis Powers.

Additionally, Roosevelt's definition of the Axis Powers as inherently bad allowed him the opportunity during the 1942 State of the Union address, to highlight America's Exceptional objectives:

*Our own objectives are clear; the objective of
smashing the militarism imposed by war lords
upon their enslaved peoples, the objective of liberating
the subjugated Nations – the objective of establishing
and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion,
freedom from want, and freedom from fear
everywhere in the world (Roosevelt, 1942).*

The supposition here is that the statement was created for the many audiences that would have been listening, being at a time when segregation was the policy of the US Military and that, despite orders directly from the White House during the 1940-1941 mobilization that African Americans

needed to be equally dispersed between the different branches of the military, such was not the reality. In December 1941 MacGregor (1985) states, African Americans were 7.9% of all the enlisted troops but accounted for 5% of the Infantry, less than 2% of the Air, Medical, and Signal Corps, compared to 15% of the Quartermaster Corps; 25% of the Engineer Corps, and significantly 27% of the unassigned and miscellaneous attachments. While suggesting African Americans should be dispersed across the branches of the US Military, Roosevelt (1942) was not suggesting integration but rather: 'since black units within the army were going concerns, accustomed to many years of the present system [of segregation] no experiments should be tried ... at this critical period' (MacGregor, 1985: ch.2)⁹⁶. By twenty-first century standards that may appear to be poor conditions, but it is worth remembering that in 1940, slavery internment would have been within the living memory of the African American population. Indeed Roosevelt's (1942) words: 'liberating the subjugated' must have held particular significance for African Americans joining the burgeoning civilian workforce.

In June 1941, a time when millions of employment opportunities were being created within the Defense Industry and Federal Agencies, Roosevelt also signed *Executive Order 8802: Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry*. The order stated: 'There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries and in Government, because of

⁹⁶ Mac Gregor, Morris (1985) *Integration of Armed Forces 1940-1965* <http://www.history.army.mil/books/integration/iaf-fm.htm> [accessed 01 March 2011]. The book does not show page numbers. The original Roosevelt quote MacGregor (1985) sites as: Memo, TAG for CG's et al., 16 October 1940, sub: War Department Policy in Regard to Negroes AG291.21, 10-9-40 M-A-M.

race, creed, colo[u]r, or national origin'.⁹⁷ Roosevelt's directive was the first since Reconstruction. The order created the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which was to examine circumstances of discrimination, the changing working conditions may have given Roosevelt's (1942) words: 'freedom from want, freedom from fear' a magnified resonance for the African American listeners.

The above information adds the social and political relevance that contextualizes Roosevelt's (1942) address. Roosevelt (Ibid) had declared America's 'objective', interestingly a word that is synonymous with 'purpose', 'aspiration', or even 'Holy Grail' (Gilmour, 1999) and used in conjunction with the principles of liberation from 'war lords', 'freedom of speech, ... religion ...want ... need'. The combination signified to the American public the democratic ideals that America represented and had declared in its own liberation from the Lords (the monarchy) of the British 'mother country'. Consequently, the statement may have been speaking to different audiences, and equally, different audiences may have interpreted that statement in a way that was relevant for their position. For example, black Americans may have considered that Roosevelt was interested not only in liberating other countries, but also liberating them from the oppression they were suffering within the

⁹⁷ *Executive Order 8802* and historical information regarding the order Online: U.S. National Archives & Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20408 <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=72> [accessed 13 March 2011]. The transcription for this was not reproduced in Appendix , but can be accessed currently on above URL [accessed 03 March 2012].

United States. The WASP⁹⁸ American public may have understood it to mean that America, as the Chosen Nation, was destined to liberate 'the world'.

Allied International leaders may have interpreted the clause as the United States ready to accept some responsibility in the war against the Axis Powers. At the same time Roosevelt (1942) may have been sending a message to the Axis Powers that the United States' military was committed to their defeat.

Evidence for that exists in the following paragraph of Roosevelt's address:

*We shall not stop short of these objectives – nor shall
we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day.
... this time [unlike WWI] we are determined not only to win
the war, but also to maintain the security of the peace
that will follow (Roosevelt, 1942).*

Roosevelt (Ibid), in that statement was assuring the Allies, and clearly preparing the domestic audience that America would not retreat back to isolationism after defeating the Axis Powers. Roosevelt's (1942) Imperialist intentions were evident in the above quotation but that was not the only example delivered during the address. Approximately three quarters of the way through the address Roosevelt (Ibid) used a significant amount of repetition; Rank (1976, 1984) insists that repetition is a useful rhetorical tool as a means of enabling the audience to unquestioningly accept, or become familiar with, a new idea. Roosevelt (1942) employed repetition with the phrase 'American armed forces' five consecutive times before ending with: 'American armed forces will help to protect this hemisphere – and also help to

⁹⁸ WASP – white Anglo Saxon Protestant, but the term is more commonly used presently to incorporate all Christians, Jews, and more generally the American white population, see Eisenach (2000) for its significance in terms of American religious identity.

protect bases outside this hemisphere, which could be used for an attack on the Americas'. Consequently, by the fifth repetition Roosevelt (Ibid) had the audience feeling familiar with what the 'American armed forces' would be doing during the war and, arguably, used that familiarity to reveal US Imperial intentions. Roosevelt (1942) spent about 40% of the speech defining how the American work force would produce military equipment for the war in enough quantity for the entire American military and its Allies, the contention here is that there may have been several reasons for spending that amount of the address on domestic military production.

In 1942, America was still struggling to relinquish the effects of the Depression. The war created opportunities for massive employment expansion in both manufacturing and an enlarged military. Roosevelt in the 1942 State of the Union address suggested that, for example, between 1941 and 1943 shipping weight production would escalate from 1,100,000 tons to 10,000,000 tons. Roosevelt ended the many paragraphs on the need for increased domestic production in all areas of industry, with a rallying call that employed anaphora to gain impact and consensus:

*Speed will count. Lost ground can always be
regained – lost time never.*

Speed will save lives;

speed will save this Nation which is in peril;

speed will save our freedom and our civilization – and

slowness has never been an American characteristic

(Roosevelt, 1942).

RHETORICAL COMPARISON:

The myth of the Chosen Nation was utilized to best effect in the last few paragraphs of the address, as Roosevelt (1942) explicitly conveyed the rhetoric of otherness within religious language. Bush's 2002 State of the Union address⁹⁹ also incorporated the 'rhetoric of otherness' employing subtle connotations at the end of the speech, but in a very different way to Roosevelt, and therefore it is very interesting to examine the two in parallel.

Roosevelt propounded:

We are fighting today... not only for one generation but for all generations ... to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills (Roosevelt, 1942).

Our enemies are guided ... by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith that goes back ... [to the] Book of Genesis: 'God created man in His

Bush expounded:

We've come to truths that we will never question Evil is real, and it must be opposed. ... Deep in the American character, there is hono[u]r, ... even in tragedy – Especially in tragedy – God is near. In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential (Bush, 2002).

Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago on the day of our founding.

⁹⁹ Bush, George W. (2002) 'Address Before A Joint of the Congress on the State of the Union' January 29 Online: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. *American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29644> [accessed 06 October 2010]. Appendix 2.3.

own image' (Roosevelt, 1942).

*We affirm it again today. We choose
freedom and the dignity of every life (Bush,
2002).*

The above quotes highlight the similarities in Roosevelt (1942) and Bush's (2002) presidential rhetoric, often communicating the same idea. The language adopted for that purpose however, may exemplify the different cultural or social norms of the period or even the influence of speechwriters in communicating particular ideas. The following sentence in which both presidents were making similar points, highlights the disparity between the styles. In 1942 Roosevelt insisted: 'Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race'; in 2002 Bush asserted: 'Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder'. In both circumstances the rhetoric was endeavouring to describe the 'enemy', and in fact making children carry out suicide missions would be considered contempt for human life (of both the children and the victims), therefore, it could be argued both Presidents were saying the same thing. However, the language used was noteworthy because of the dissimilarities.

Roosevelt (1942) was speaking in a way that acknowledged the international audience without calling them by name. By using the phrase 'unholy contempt for the human race', the phrase may imply the sanctity of any human being on earth. Therefore, if the enemy does not recognize the sacredness or sanctity of life, a basic human right, they may be considered 'inhuman', 'demonic' or 'evil'. Prior to that point, Roosevelt (Ibid) had on

several occasions compared Hitler to evil and atheistic ideals, furnishing the American audience with enough information to recognize the war as their manifest destiny.

Bush's (2002) statement, utilized the phrase 'other people's children', which may indicate that Karen Hughes influenced the language of the speech. Chapter Four highlighted that Hughes insisted terms like 'people' and 'children' needed to be used to capture the attention of 'middle America'. More interestingly, Bush (2002) went on to assert that the enemy 'embrace[d] death and tyranny as a cause and creed'. The word 'creed' has often been used to represent a belief system, by the time of the 2002 State of the Union address it was universally proclaimed that the terrorists who caused the 9/11 attacks were Muslims. Bush's (Ibid) statement may have been interpreted by Islamic nations to mean that all Muslims were being categorized as terrorists. Perhaps worse still, it left open the possibility that the religion of Islam perpetuated the idea of tyranny and death. Consequently, it may have been considered as re-enforcing Islamaphobic myths.

Alternatively, Bush (2002) when describing the 'enemy', was using simplistic language but almost in a documentary style, as though it was an individual case that could be used to describe an 'enemy' that was scattered around the world, often with only tangential networks. The value of Bush's (2002) rhetoric was that it created a stereotype that the audience could immediately grasp, and because the 'enemy' was regularly related in such terms, even when

evidence surfaced that questioned such caricatures the stereotype would remain.

Roosevelt asserted:

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this deep belief and to create a world in their own image – a world of tyranny and cruelty and serfdom (Roosevelt, 1942).

Bush stated:

We have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that bring lasting peace. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed or aspire to servitude or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere...

America will always stand firm for the nonnegotiable demand of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance (Bush, 2002).

Roosevelt stated:

That is the conflict that day and night now pervades our lives. No compromise can end that conflict. There never has been – there never can be – successful compromise between good and evil. Only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith (Roosevelt, 1942).

Bush declared:

Stead fast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory (Bush, 2002).

It was the last three paragraphs, perhaps the part of the speech that would be best remembered by every audience, in which Roosevelt (1942) and Bush (2002) were very obvious in the way in which the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto,

1973) was used, through religious imagery and metaphor. Both Presidents galvanized their respective audiences with profuse talk about 'freedom', 'liberty' and 'founding fathers'; as Marsden (2008) argues these signifiers act to reinforce the concept of citizens breaking free or overcoming the servitude of autocracy, fear and apprehension. The way in which Roosevelt (1942) and Bush (2002) utilized their rhetoric was to capture the emotive signifiers and perpetuate the concept that the American public had the power to free the respective nations of such tyranny.

As a result, it may be that both speeches have to be considered as thinly disguised calls to patriotic arms. There is however, one glaring difference between the two speeches at this point. In the first sentence of Roosevelt's (1942) last paragraph: 'That is the conflict that day and night now pervades our lives', he utilized a change of style to perhaps capture the attention of his audience. Unlike the previous paragraphs, Roosevelt (1942) adopted an almost literary style using oblique language; it would appear hard to imagine Bush using such language with any alacrity. Nevertheless, the metaphor of 'night and day' carries great significance as a religious metaphor.

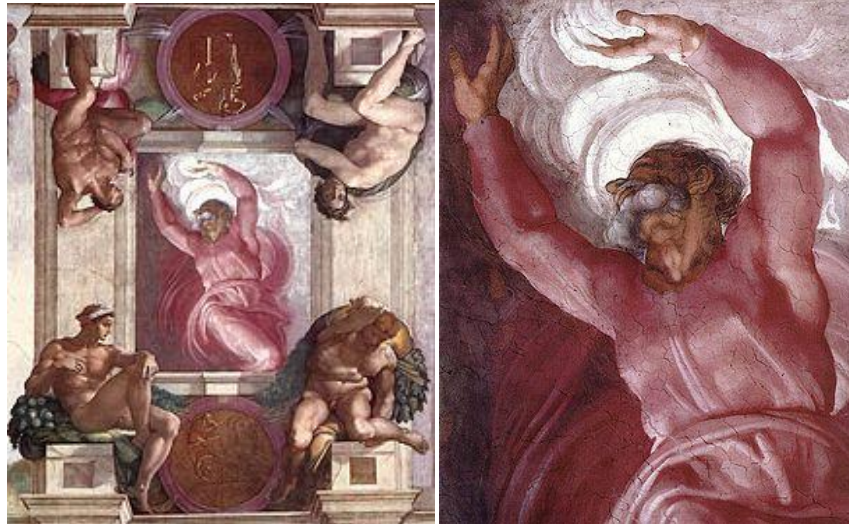


Figure 5 Separation Light & Dark¹⁰⁰

Figures 1 and 2 above are pictures of the Sistine Chapel ceiling painted by Michelangelo, entitled *The Separation of Light from Darkness*. The paintings were Michelangelo's interpretation of: 'The creation of the world'

It reflects Genesis 1:

God said, 'let there be light,' and there was light.
God saw the light was good, and God divided light
from darkness. God called light 'day', and darkness
he called 'night'. Evening came and morning
came: the first day. (Genesis 1: 3-5)¹⁰¹

Roosevelt (1942) by incorporating such language was perhaps suggesting to the American public that they, as the Chosen People, were required to create a 'good' world order and rid the world of darkness (evil, or in this case Hitler

¹⁰⁰ For figure 1, the reference for the image: Sistine Chapel *Wikipedia*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:First_Day_of_Creation.jpg . For figure 2, the reference for the image: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dividing_Light_Darkness.jpg . It is recognized that Wikipedia has a less than academic standard within some of its published material. However, after accessing numerous images of the same paintings these were the clearest images.

¹⁰¹ The Bible used: Wansbrough, Henry (ed.) (1994) *The New Jerusalem Bible: Study Edition*, London, Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd.

and the other Axis Powers). This sums up precisely Lipset's (1996) description of America's religious exceptionalism and the way it has been used to promote foreign policy initiatives. The obliqueness of the sentence suggests that it would meet neither Hughes' assessment of the language required for *Middle America*, nor Rove's assessment of the language required for *niche group constituencies* (Frum, 2003)¹⁰².

The final paragraph of the 2002 State of the Union address perpetuated the previously defined concept of the 'good American' and announced what was expected of that good, patriotic American. Unlike the beginning of the address where Bush recognized lots of different audiences '... Members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens ...' Bush (2002) simply stated at the end 'Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on.' The inference was that as patriotic Americans we (all Americans) now press on, and that was emphasized by using 'freedom' three successive times, 'my fellow Americans,... we will see freedom's victory'. Consequently, 'freedom', innately part of the American religious identity, would be the victor in the 'War on Terrorism'.

¹⁰² See Chapter Four for Bush's aides, Karen Hughes and Karl Rove's assessment of appropriate language for enabling presidential rhetoric to generate an impact across America.

CONCLUSION:

The purpose of this chapter has been to analyse the way Roosevelt utilized presidential rhetoric after the attack on Pearl Harbor. This was compared and contrasted with Bush's post 9/11 presidential rhetoric by analysing the 'Declaration of War with Japan' and the 1942 State of the Union address and Bush's 2002 State of the Union address.

In the last few paragraphs of the two State of the Union addresses, Roosevelt in 1942 and Bush in 2002, the striking quality is the similarity of style. If they were not labelled, it would be difficult to decide which derived from the different speakers. Interestingly, in these last few paragraphs of the addresses it was Roosevelt (1942), rather than Bush (2002), who has used slightly more overt religious imagery within the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973), although initially, after the respective crises, it was Bush (2001c) who utilized much more religious imagery to define *why* the and *how* exposition. The following describes a possible explanation for the changing way in which Roosevelt decided to express his presidential rhetoric during the 1942 State of the Union address.

One possible reason for Roosevelt's (1942) greater use of religious myths through metaphor and imagery may have been the changing emphasis in the time between the atrocities occurring and the date the State of the Union Address was delivered. Despite Japan being the perpetrator of the Pearl

Harbor attack, Roosevelt (Ibid) was more concerned in asserting the necessity to engage in a European war. Consequently, during the 1942 State of the Union address Roosevelt was defining a new understanding of *why* the attack occurred (Hitler's evil intentions). What this may reveal is that when presidential rhetoric is used after a rhetorical situation it is only when defining the patriotic discourse for the foreign policy aspirations that religious myths become more extensively utilized. At this stage that cannot be suggested with any certainty, but by carrying out further case studies a greater understanding of the prevalence of religious myths for such purposes should become apparent. However, what this analysis revealed was that Roosevelt unquestionably employed a much greater use of religious imagery in the 1942 State of the Union Address than in the 'Declaration of War with Japan'(1941b) speech, both in defining Hitler and suggesting *how* Americans needed to respond.

CHAPTER SEVEN

‘AMERICA HELD HOSTAGE’

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter examines President Jimmy Carter's early rhetorical response to the Iranian hostage siege and compares that to Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. The significance of this comparison is that Carter and Bush's 'rhetorical situations' (Bitzer, 1999) were both influenced by the media coverage (primarily considered in Chapter Four) and contained an Islamic fundamentalist aspect. This chapter analyses critically Carter's initial response to the Iranian hostage siege, followed by Carter's successful November 28, 1979 News Conference, which is compared to Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric. Both rhetorical situations share:

*The reality that lives on, it's the reality etched
in the memories of the millions who watched
rather than the few who were actually there
(Lang and Lang, 1984: 213).*

This is a quote similar to those made after 9/11, but reference to an event which began twenty-two years earlier – the seizure of the US Embassy in Tehran when over sixty Americans were taken hostage. The media in both cases played an influential role in defining the American public's conception regarding the respective international attacks. However, there were some significant differences, and one being the time taken before each President addressed the American nation regarding the event, which in turn affected the role each President played in defining *why* the attack happened and *how* Americans needed to respond. Unlike Bush, who effectively addressed the concerns of the American public on the evening of 9/11,

delivering the 'Awful Oval Address' see the following chapter, Carter delayed eight days before delivering a short message to the American people from the White House. It would be a further sixteen days before Carter's 'News Conference' from the East Room of the White House was transmitted live via both radio and television, and gained Carter some significant public approval. Consequently, it is these two pieces of presidential rhetoric which will form the basis for examination within this chapter.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

Carter was in an exceedingly difficult predicament; the American public and the worldwide media were monitoring every word, hoping to detect *what* the President of the United States was going to do about the siege. This unique circumstance was one in which the President was confronted with a hostage situation in a foreign country whose ruling figure was an adversary of the American government. Indeed, Ayatollah Khomeini referred to America as the 'Great Satan' and had ousted the American-backed Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi regime earlier that year to gain power (Seliktar, 2000; McAlister, 2001). The circumstances were further complicated insofar as by November 12, 1979 the US newspapers had already made a significant shift in the way the students taking over the US Embassy were being characterized. The language had changed from 'students' in 'skirmishes' with US Marine guards seizing the US Embassy in Tehran¹⁰³, to 'terrorists', operating with the approval of

¹⁰³ See: Reuters (1979) 'Teheran Students Seize US Embassy and Hold Hostages' *The New York Times*. November 05.

Ayatollah Khomeini, a 'maniac', threatening to 'execute' American hostages
(Bowden, 2006)¹⁰⁴.

Speaking from the Briefing Room of the White House, Carter began:

*We continue to face a grave situation in Iran,
where our Embassy has been seized and more
than sixty American citizens continue to be held as
hostages in an attempt to force unacceptable
demands on our country. We're using every
available channel to protect the safety of the
hostages and to secure their release*¹⁰⁵
(Carter, 1979a).

What is very striking with many of Carter's addresses, and the ones examined within this chapter particularly, is the lack of introductory niceties, for example 'good evening' or 'I am here to talk to you the American people' or anything that makes him appear personable. In commencing the address in such a manner, the audience (whilst acknowledged by saying 'we continue' and 'our country') remained distant and Carter appeared aloof, although perhaps in that instance he was endeavouring to show leadership. Arguably, it achieved quite the opposite the appearance was of

¹⁰⁴ See also: Randal, Jonathan C. (1979) 'Anti-Americanism Is Rallying Cry of Runaway Revolution' *The Washington Post*. November 10.

¹⁰⁵ A common first reaction is that part of the address has not been transcribed, and upon listening to the audio version, (which is only two paragraphs in the middle of the address) this cannot be clarified. However, upon examining numerous other addresses, it became apparent that it was part of Carter's style. See: Carter, Jimmy (1979a) 'Oil Imports From Iran Remarks Announcing Discontinuance of United States Imports', November 12. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T., *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucst.edu/ws/?pid=31674> [accessed 01 November 2011]. Appendix 2.7.

someone ill at ease and making a statement because he was obliged to rather than demonstrating his ability to reassure the nation.

Carter, after the initial perfunctory remarks, then changed tack commending the American public on their reactions to the hostage crisis.

Along with the families of the hostages, I have welcomed and I appreciate the restraint that has been shown by Americans during this crisis. We must continue to exhibit such constraint despite the intensity of our emotions. The lives of our people in Iran are at stake (Carter, 1979a).

Carter was defining clearly *how* the American people needed to continue to respond to the hostage seizure, namely through ‘restraint’ and ‘constraint’. Whilst a hostage situation of any sort requires people to be very measured in their actions, ‘restraint’ and ‘constraint’ do appear curious words unless they were being used with a religious connotation in mind. From a Christian perspective they work at two levels: firstly they are both used widely throughout the Bible, for example Peter 5:2¹⁰⁶, and 1 Samuel 14:6¹⁰⁷; and on another level they both refer back to self-control. Self-control is considered a ‘fruit from the Spirit’ (Gal. 5:22-23) something that all Christians ‘supposedly’ strive to maintain at all times. The language Carter used had

¹⁰⁶ ‘Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight [thereof], not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but for a ready mind.’ (1 Peter 5:2) from 1769 Oxford King James Bible, <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/book.php?book=1+Peter&chapter=5&verse=2> [accessed 01 January 2012].

¹⁰⁷ ‘And Jonathan said to the young man that bare his armour ... the Lord will work for us, for [there is] restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few.’ (1 Samuel 14:6) from 1769 Oxford King James Bible, <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1-Samuel-14-6/> [accessed on 01 February 2012].

equal significance for secular and religious viewers and listeners alike; the need for 'restraint' had the capacity to signify self control and that may have been the purpose of such seemingly passive words.

In 1979, during such a media-orientated international incident, Carter's television utterances would have been relayed across the world. It would have been important for Carter to choose language that would appear innocuous – he too had to show 'restraint'. Nevertheless, Carter reminded the public that he, the President of the United States, and the 'families of the hostages' appreciated the behaviour of the American public. By adopting that style it was a way of suggesting that each and every American was doing something for their country, while at the same time it was a way of signifying the human dimension to the seizure. The hostages were individuals with families, something to which both people in America and around the world could have related. Therefore, the hostages and their families were innocent victims. The characterization of innocent victim was similarly made by reminding the global public that all nations were at risk.

Carter stated:

It is vital to the United States and to every other nation that the lives of diplomatic personnel and other citizens abroad be protected and that we refuse to permit the use of terrorism and the seizure and the holding of hostages to impose political demands (Carter, 1979a).

Interestingly, 'terrorism' was not coined by Carter; by November 12, 1979 it was widely used throughout American media and International media alike (print and television). Nevertheless, by using such language and making the link between the American hostages and diplomats across the world, it was an opportunity for different nations to consider the safety of their own personnel. Alternatively, it may have been a reminder for nations around the world that it was American hostages on this occasion, but if it happens again it may be your diplomats. It is suggested that Carter was also imparting that thought to encourage nations around the world, particularly those continuing to hold sway with the Iranians, to facilitate ending the siege.

Paradoxically, Carter then withdrew from using language that may have enabled the public audience to continue its identification with the human tragedy of the siege.

Instead Carter declared:

It is necessary to eliminate any suggestion that economic pressures can weaken our stand on basic issues of principle. ... I am ordering that we discontinue [the] purchasing of any oil from Iran for delivery to this country.

These events obviously demonstrate the extreme importance of reducing oil consumption here in the United States. I urge every American citizen and every American business to redouble efforts to curtail the use of petroleum products. This action

*will pose a real challenge to our country. It will
be a test of our strength and of our determination
(Carter, 1979a).*

The last sentence was one that Carter used time and again throughout the hostage siege and will be elucidated upon shortly. Carter continued in the same vein for a further two paragraphs, talking about economic difficulties and conserving oil publicly and privately. Understandably Carter, unlike all the other Presidents examined within this thesis, had to ensure that the American public remained calm and resilient throughout the crisis and that he did not imply, even subtly, any indication of retaliatory rhetoric. Nevertheless, the language Carter used throughout the quoted text and the paragraphs subsequent to that, would almost suggest to anyone who had not heard the previous statement that Carter's address was merely concerned with an energy curtailment, which reflects the significance of understanding the historical context.

Announcing energy or oil reductions, shortages and rationing in November 1979 would have been an unwelcome prospect for any American President, as it would have revived images for the American public of earlier that summer. At a time when queuing at petrol stations, petrol station closures and rationing were causing tensions and conflict around the United States, the domestic concerns were so significant that President Carter had shortened an international summit trip to quell public strife (Schlesinger, 2008). The Iranian Revolution at the beginning of 1979 had resulted in Iranian oil production being interrupted and a surge in oil prices, referred to as the second 'oil crisis' (Rutledge, 2006; Yergin, 2008). Rutledge

(2006) described the macroeconomic effect of the 'oil crisis' as the spark for a US and global recession. Yergin (2008) traces that recession back to Nixon's arms supply to Israel during the Yom Kippur War, resulting in OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries including Arab members of OPEC and also Egypt, Syria and Tunisia) initiating an oil embargo on the United States, and a steep rise in oil prices - the first 'oil crisis'. The images for the American public were that of long petrol queues and petrol stations without fuel, juxtaposed with the American automotive industry undergoing a complete re-organization, and thousands of Americans losing their livelihood.

Consequently, the historical context of the November presidential rhetoric meant that Carter would have been obliged to painstakingly describe what would have been required of the American public, regarding the conservation of oil, and then place that within an understanding of a 'test'. It would have been painfully obvious, considering the amount of domestic hostility earlier that year; an oil shortage was going to be both a test for the American public and also for the Carter administration. At the same time the language was reminiscent of Carter's background. It is useful to remember that Carter was a born again Christian and to have used the sentence: 'It will be a test of our strength and of our determination' would suggest that it was test of America's spirit or willpower. It is maintained in this thesis that that was a reference to the Lord's Prayer. Marsden (2008: 101) corroborates that suggestion stating:

*The testing of America's resolve has parallels
in the testing of Christians' resolution, as they*

*pray in the Lord's Prayer not to be led into temptation
and are instructed elsewhere to 'Submit
yourselves to God. Resist the devil and he
will flee from you' (James 4:7 cited in Marsden, 2008).*

The argument being put forward is that Carter's reference to the 'Lord's Prayer' was indicative of the idea that God does not stop evil occurring, or impede individuals from being tempted by evil. As in the case of the Iranian hostage affair, Carter was identifying America as the Innocent Nation, which was being given an opportunity to show its resolve and overcome evil (the Iranian terrorists). Further evidence for this lies in the way Carter ended the remarks:

*America does face a difficult task and a test.
Our response will measure our character
and our courage. I know that we Americans
shall not fail (Carter, 1979a).*

Carter once again used the 'test' analogy, but emphasized that even more by following it with the metaphor of 'measure ... courage'. A well known Bible phrase regularly quoted is: 'be strong and of good courage' (Deuteronomy, Joshua, Chronicles, Samuel and the Psalms)¹⁰⁸. The analogy has the benefit of touching people from all walks of life it is reminiscent of *The Pilgrim's Progress* by Bunyan (c1670) a book often read during primary and secondary education in the 1960s and

¹⁰⁸ See for example, Deuteronomy 31:6, 31:7, 31:23; Joshua 1:6, 1:9, 1:18, 10:25; 1 Chronicles 22:13; 28:20; 2 Samuel 10:12; Psalms 27:14.
<http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/search.php?cx=partner-pub-3004108712154911%3Ac4rrh3xku7n&cof=FORID%3A10&ie=ISO-8859-1&safe=on&q=courage>
[accessed 10 November 2011].

1970s. Alternatively, it may have signified Crane's (1895) *Red Badge of Courage*, a well known American text that has been made into a film on several occasions, Said (2003) elucidates on the value of using cultural identifiers. The importance of such words or phrases resides in their ability to impart signifiers of American superior identity (understood as 'moral orientation' Eisenach (2000)), and by using a phrase that captured the spirit of religious analogies and popular cultural ones, this created the prospect that more Americans would have identified with such language.

Whilst in the aftermath of this address a change was initiated in the perception of the public regarding Carter's 'performance approval rating', prior to the address Carter's approval rating polled at a mere 32%¹⁰⁹ of the American public, while 55% disapproved of his performance. After the statement on November 12, 1979 Carter's approval rating marginally progressed to 38%, and for the first time in six months less than half, 49% disapproved of Carter's performance, hardly endorsing figures. These figures point to Carter's dearth of 'political capital' (Neustadt, 1990) and at the same time the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1999) had not allowed Carter the opportunity to utilize the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Carter's (1979a) November 12 address also reveals that there was no initiation of the boundaries through which the American public gained an understanding about *why* the hostage siege occurred, despite them being advised on *how* they needed to respond. What really stands out when listening to and reading Carter's (1979a) remarks, was the insufficient cohesion or synthesis between the different topics being promulgated.

¹⁰⁹ All 'Presidential approval ratings' Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, http://webapps.ropercenter.uconn.edu/CFIDE/roper/presidential/webroot/presidential_rating_detail.cfm?allRate=True&presidentName=Carter [accessed 03 January 2012].

The result was a less than inspiring speech that expressed several valid points but failed to stir the public emotionally, arguably due to the inappropriateness for the rhetoric of otherness to be used. Consequently, while Carter used references to religious myths they were utilized as the context for promoting American self-sacrifice rather than identity politics. Added to that, Carter jumped from one topic to the next without cohesion or overarching theme, suggesting different speechwriters' ideas had been drawn upon, but with no editor to combine the parts together seamlessly. Indeed, Carter that autumn had a new 'Assistant to the President and White House Staff Director', Alonzo McDonald, who took overall control of the speechwriters after the departure of Gerald Rafshoon White House Communications Director (Schlesinger, 2008). According to McDonald, upon accepting the position Carter insisted: 'Of all the problems of the presidency, speechwriting is absolutely the worst ... It's a plague of this office' (Schlesinger, 2008: 305).

The November 12, 1979 remarks also illustrate the importance of the backdrop whenever the President speaks. Carter made the remarks speaking from the Briefing Room of the White House rather than the Oval Office as it enabled him to remain authoritative, but businesslike, suggesting that despite the challenges being faced by the American government it was 'business as usual'. It is contended that that was a sensible plan, since delivering the remarks from the Oval Office may have provided the appearance that the American President was being held to ransom,

rather than the American diplomats. In fact the conception that America was being held hostage became part of the media portrayal of the Iranian hostage affair.

CARTER’S RHETORIC OF OTHERNESS:

On November 28, 1979 twenty-four days after the US Embassy in Iran was besieged by Iranian students and Americans were taken hostage, Carter held his fifty-third News Conference after taking office. Carter’s language was more emotive than it had been some sixteen days earlier, particularly in the way he characterized the plight of the hostages. Following the same format as previously commented upon Carter commenced straight into his address, but in the second sentence he did welcome home the hostages who had been released.

Carter stated:

For the last 24 days our Nation’s concern has been focused on our fellow Americans being held hostage in Iran. We have welcomed some of them home to their families and their friends
(Carter, 1979b)

Bush declared:

We are here in the middle hour of our grief. So many have suffered so great a loss, and today we express our Nation’s sorrow. We come before God to pray for the missing and the dead and for those who love them (Bush, 2001f).

The distinction between the way in which Carter delivered that message and the way Bush talked about the victims of the 9/11 atrocities is marked. Bush (2001f) began by employing a scheme of anastrophe to capture the audience’s attention – ‘so many have suffered so great a loss’ - and in describing those being remembered, ‘the missing and the dead’, but it did not end there. Bush (2001f) carried on for three

more paragraphs to create the imagery by which people around the world would identify with the atrocity: 'We have seen the images of fire and ashes and bent steel', and then to immortalize the 'missing and the dead'. Carter (1979b), on the other hand, simply referred to the first group of hostages released using cursory language.

Carter (1979b) commenced his address adopting a dispassionate tone and carried that through to his description of the released hostages. Carter's (1979b) words: 'we have welcomed some of them home', lacked detail and created an impersonal characterization, despite adding 'to their families and friends'. Whilst understandably wanting the thirteen released hostages to maintain some privacy and time to begin to re-adjust with family and friends, Carter (1979b) could have described those freed as 'thirteen hostages' or better still 'thirteen fellow Americans'. A number, or a number and reference to the fact that they were 'one of us', adds to the concept that these were 'real' people, 'some of them' imparts a notion of 'things' rather than 'human beings'; however that would turn out to be strikingly different from the way in which Carter (1979b) referred to the people who remained as hostages.

In fact it could be argued that Carter (1979b) adopted the approach just described to deflect attention from the 'successful' release of thirteen hostages, wanting the American audience and the global audience to remain focused on the hostages that remained in Iran, and avoiding any misconception of hope that the remaining hostages would shortly follow those released.

The contention of this chapter is that Carter's presidential rhetoric only fully adopted the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) in defining the hostage takers, during the News Conference of November 28, 1979. In fact, Larson (1986) credits television (rather than Carter's rhetoric) generally and ABC's *America Held Hostage Day X*¹¹⁰ specifically for bringing the hostage situation to reality for the American public. Every evening there was an update on the hostage crisis, the images being relayed were of blindfolded hostages, often appearing alongside their captors, armed militants who were shown in front of the US Embassy in Iran; and hostage family members were interviewed regularly, describing their feelings of fear and dread for those still held in Iran (Larson, 1986).

The American public, by November 28 (*America Held Hostage: Day 24*) had already constructed a reality of the hostage siege that had been created from the television news coverage. Carter (1979b) began his News Conference slowly, spending two paragraphs defining the American Nation and the American people, focusing primarily on the concepts of 'courage', 'patience' and the hostage siege being a 'test' (see the previous section for a detailed explanation) more noteworthy for this thesis, he then went on to utilize the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973).

The thirteen released hostages from the Iranian siege offered Carter an opportunity to use the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973), since the Iranian hostage siege had

¹¹⁰ ABC News President Roone Arledge has been credited with instigating what was originally called *The Iran Crisis – America Held Hostage DayX*, which began on November 8, 1979 to fill a slot that would compete with NBC's *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson*. The programme continued throughout the crisis ending on Day 444, soon after it began the programme was hosted by Ted Koppel and he continued when it was changed after the crisis to *Nightline*. Information available at: <http://www.museum.tv/eotvsection.php?entrycode=koppelted> [accessed on 12 January 2012].

now acquired the necessary criteria: incredulity, terror, and miraculous wonderment, see Chapter Three for a detailed account. The miraculous wonderment was of course that some of the hostages were released without serious harm, and the first criterion of incredulity was acknowledged from the outset both within the international community and the American administration. During the News Conference Carter (1979b) elucidated upon the incredulity in six different parts of his address, the references to incredulity all appearing within the same theme:

Carter demanded:

The actions of Iran have shocked the civilized world. For a government to applaud mob violence and terrorism, for a government actually to support and, in effect, participate in the taking and holding of hostages is unprecedented in human history. This violates not only the most fundamental precepts of international law but the common ethical and religious heritage of humanity. ... [Carter adds] From every corner of the world, nations and people have voiced their strong revulsion and condemnation of Iran and joined us in calling for the release of the hostages (Carter, 1979b).

Bush stated:

International support is gaining momentum. This week I met with the Prime Ministers of two of America's closest friends, Canada and Japan. Other countries, from Russia to Indonesia, are giving strong support as the war against terrorism moves forward. America is grateful to the nations that have cut off diplomatic ties with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, ... Many governments and financial institutions around the world are joining in this effort to starve terrorists of funding (Bush, 2001t)¹¹¹.

Interestingly, Bush on September 29, 2001 was continuing to garner international support from various countries which, when reflecting of the scale of the atrocity, may seem curious. However, in pursuing the perpetrators of 9/11 there was no clear nation state involvement. Al-Qaida is, and was at that time, disparate groups of terrorists affiliated loosely by similar ideals and located in various cells around the

¹¹¹ Bush, George W. (2001t) 'The President's Radio Address', September 29. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T., *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=24999>. Appendix 2.9.

world. The American Embassy hostage siege on the other hand, was carried out within a nation state and could not have continued for such time without the state's tacit agreement, and this concerned every Embassy around the world. Whilst both atrocities caused an incredulous response and gained international concern, it is Carter's (1979b) rhetoric at the News Conference being considered.

Carter (1979b) reinforced the theme of incredulity five further times before the end of the News Conference and the significance of that clear description of the disbelief that America and nations around the world were experiencing was important for two reasons. Firstly, it facilitated Carter in being able to re-affirm America's innocence, and perhaps his personal innocence in having offered the Shah an invitation to enter America for medical treatment. Secondly, it was a reminder to all nations around the world that the International Rules of Law were devised for and ensured the security of all national Embassies. Without that guarantee any grievances nations harboured between one another had the possibility of resulting in a similar situation, which would lead to international anarchy.

The role of international standards was then transformed into the importance of religious standards across the faiths, highlighted by the description Carter used to define the continuing hostage siege. Alternatively, Bush compares the 'peace' of

Islam with 'hate and evil' of 'Al Qaida'¹¹², each President utilizing the construction of otherness but conceivably with different audiences in mind.

Carter stated:

There is no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones kidnapping. There is no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones blackmail. There is no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones the sustained abuse of innocent people. We are deeply concerned about the inhuman and degrading conditions imposed on the hostages
(Carter, 1979b).

Bush insisted:

I have told the Nation more than once that ours is a war against evil, against extremists, that the teachings of Islam are the teachings of peace and good. And the Al Qaida organization is not an organization of good, an organization of peace; it's an organization based upon hate and evil (Bush, 2001r¹¹³).

Bush was delivering his remarks prior to 'discussions with Muslim Community Leaders' and the purpose of the discussion was to reiterate the need for all Americans to respect faiths of fellow Americans. The importance therefore was to differentiate between the teachings of Islam and the Al Qaida organization. Similarly Carter was endeavouring to differentiate between all faiths around the world and the siege being supported by Ayatollah Khomeini, religious figure and Iranian leader.

It was in the fifth paragraph of Carter's statement in which the terror of the siege was emphasized, and Carter achieved that by using the anaphora 'there is no religious faith on Earth' to characterize the 'inhumanity', ruthlessness, cold-bloodedness and barbaric nature of the hostage atrocity. Arguably, Carter was stressing 'no religious

¹¹² The spelling for Al Qaida varies, between Bushes speeches, some use the spelling Al Qaeda despite the *American Presidency Project* being used as the source for all the different speeches. The spelling reflects that found within the particular speech being quoted.

¹¹³ Bush, George W. (2001r) 'Remarks Prior to Discussions With Muslim Community Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters', September 26. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. *American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=64877>. Appendix 3.0.

faith on Earth condones ...' as a means of preventing the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) being misconstrued as a battle between Christianity and Islam. It is contended that Carter singled out the part of Ayatollah Khomeini supporting the hostage taking (which was accomplished in three different areas of the speech) as a means of 'othering' him from his religion, and at the same time linking him to the 'sustained abuse of innocent people'. Carter used the term 'abuse' within six different phrases during the News Conference, and it is a very emotive word that warrants consideration.

The term 'abuse' immediately brings to mind torture, imprisonment, and unspeakable infringements of human dignity on innocent victims, which meets the remaining criteria (terror or demonic dread) for the appropriate circumstances for the 'rhetoric of otherness' to be useful. When typing 'abuse' into a computer search engine ninety percent of the searches report on 'child abuse', the most innocent of all victims¹¹⁴. Abuse also signifies the 'abuser', in the news conference it is suggested, Carter used the term 'abuse' regularly to reiterate the bestial nature of the 'abusers', the 'terrorists' (and by implication, worst of all a religious figure, Khomeini) who 'imprisoned' and 'abused' the 'innocent' American hostages. It is worth remembering that even within prison communities 'child abusers' are considered to be the lowest echelon within the hierarchical prison society, and often have to be protected from the rest of the prison community (Dumond, 1992). Consequently, it is the contention that Carter used the term without evidence of torture, but used it as a

¹¹⁴ Using the search engine Google Scholar on 12 December 2011 the term 'abuse' was typed into the search box and despite some of the searches not showing 'child abuse' in their title upon opening the displayed web pages nine out of ten of the web pages were written on 'child abuse', for the first ten pages of search.

signifier of bestial, barbaric or evil treatment. Therefore, the 'abusers' were evil, barbaric and bestial, in essence 'the Other'.

The third time that Carter clearly links the Iran government with barbaric behaviour, he follows it almost immediately with the upstanding nature of America.

Carter declared:

Any claims raised by government officials of Iran will ring hollow while they keep innocent people bound and abused and threatened. ... [as for America] We stand together. We stand as a nation unified, a people determined to protect the life and the hono[u]r of every American. And we are determined to make America an energy-secure nation once again. We are determined that the freest nation on Earth shall protect and enhance its freedom (Carter, 1979b).

Bush stated:

Deliver to the United States authorities all the leaders of Al Qaida who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. ... This is not, however, just America's fight, and what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom (Bush, 2001¹¹⁵).

On that occasion Carter was promoting the importance of 'life', 'honor' and 'freedom', American ideals that sit at the core of the myth of America as a Chosen Nation; Chapter Five elucidated the religious significance of such terms in American identity. Carter was contrasting America with Iran, a state condoning people being 'bound and abuse[d] and threaten[ed]', linking the innocent victims with the religious overtones in the sense of moral rightness for people who identify with the American origin and its ideals of American exceptionalism. The ethics of moral rightness or moral orientation (Eisenach, 2000), similarly to the ethics of religious faiths, may be

¹¹⁵ Bush, George W. (2001) 'Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the United States Response to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11', September 20. In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=64731>. [accessed 02 February 2012]. Appendix 2.5

found in the guiding principles concerned with people's behaviour towards one another. The founding principles relate to treating people with love and kindness, as exemplified in 'love thy neighbour as thyself'¹¹⁶ therefore, if people follow such principles at a moral level of guidance, love and kindness will not 'abuse' or exploit another human being. Carter's reference contrasted the immoral behaviour of Iran with the moral rightness of America.

RHETORICAL COMPARISON:

It is the argument of this thesis that, because Carter (1979b) utilized the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through American religious myths it was an effective speech with respect to turning around American public opinion regarding his presidential abilities. After delivering the November 28, 1979 News Conference Carter (1979b) gained 'political capital' (Neustadt, 1990), insofar as, for the first time in eleven months he held a majority regarding his 'job approval ratings'. Between November 30th and December 3rd 1979, 51% of the American public polled approved Carter's performance within presidential role (Roper, 2012). Throughout December 1979 and January 1980, Carter continued to utilize the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973), both in defining Khomeini and the Iran student 'terrorists' and in describing Russia's aggression in Afghanistan, and during that period Carter's approval rating continued to rise, peaking at 58% between January 25th and 28th, 1980 (immediately after the State of the Union Address). Nevertheless, that figure also reveals that the largest

¹¹⁶ See for example, Mark 12:31,33; Matthew 22:39; 19:19; Galatians 5:14; James 2:8; Luke 10:27 available at: <http://www.kingjamesbilbeonline.org> [accessed on 12-12-2011].

movement was immediately after the November 28, 1979 News Conference when Carter (1979b) gained 13% from the previous poll, which would indicate a successful speech in terms of using American myths to assuage the experiences of the American public.

The comparison between Carter's (1979b) rhetoric and Bush's (2001I) rhetoric highlights the remarkable similarities between presidential rhetoric (allowing for the different context) when each President was utilizing the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Despite the different circumstances in which the 'rhetorical situations' (Bitzer, 1999) occurred, once the criteria exists for the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to be valuable the presidential rhetoric becomes strikingly similar. Indeed, Carter, like Roosevelt before him, and Bush some twenty years later, suggested that America was a completely Innocent Nation in explaining to the American public about *why* the attack occurred. Nevertheless, whilst both Carter (1979a, 1979b) and Bush (2001c, 2001I) utilized American myths in explaining to the American public *how* they needed to respond, the result was substantially different.

Carter used the American myth of origin, first by suggesting it was a 'test' of America's 'courage' and 'patience', and therefore Americans needed to respond by engaging in 'restraint' and 'constraint'. Later, the contrast between Iran as the 'abuser' and America as the 'freest' nation was used to argue for Americans to conserve energy and by so doing, maintain American 'freedoms'. Consequently, Carter's 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) and its promotion through the American myth of origin, was employed to define *how* Americans needed to react to the Iran

hostage siege. Carter's presidential rhetoric used the *why* and *how* exposition to define the boundaries within which Americans needed to behave to be good, patriotic Americans. It was this discourse which delivered the lens for appreciating American foreign policy initiatives for resolving the Iran hostage siege.

CONCLUSION:

This chapter has analysed critically Carter's (1979a) early rhetorical response to the Iranian hostage siege, in which media coverage had defined the early change in the rhetorical characterization. Carter's (1979a) initial remarks lacked a cohesive rhetorical theme and instead consisted of several unconnected points that merely left the audience being asked to make further American sacrifice. Indeed, the sacrifices were reminders of the previous summer's oil shortages, and left the American public wondering about Carter's abilities as President, with only 38% approving his performance (Roper, 2012). The transformation came with the release of thirteen American hostages.

The analysis identified the significant change in Carter's (1979b) presidential rhetoric during the November 28 'News Conference', when he initiated the use of Otto's (1973) 'rhetoric of otherness' and, arguably because of the change, gained a 13% jump in his 'job approval rating'. The comparison identified the similarity between the way in which Carter (1979b) and Bush's (2001r) presidential rhetoric was used to characterize the 'other', Ayatollah Khomeini and Al Qaida respectively. Similarly,

they both utilized American myths and both situations contained an Islamic fundamentalist aspect.

CHAPTER EIGHT

'THE AWFUL OVAL ADDRESS'

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter will describe Bush's response to the events of 11th September 2001. The primary focus is a critical analysis of Bush's 9/11 'Awful Oval Address' including the staging, presentation and language used within the address. The purpose of this comprehensive scrutiny is twofold, it will illustrate the significance of the media and will reveal the way that Bush, in conjunction with his speechwriters, used the demands from the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), the atrocities of 9/11, to initiate a patriotic discourse. The analysis will be achieved by recounting the media's part in covering the events of the day, particularly the evening of 9/11, and highlighting the way that Bush's speechwriters and advisors effectively harnessed the power of the media for supporting the rhetorical nature of the institution of the presidency. The critical analysis will demonstrate the significance of Bush using the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) within his post 9/11 rhetoric and the role of American myths in adding gravitas and meaning to that rhetoric.

It was Neustadt (1990: 11) who originated the concept that 'Presidential *power* is the power to persuade'. The persuasive capabilities of the American President, Neustadt (1990) argues, rest on the conditions and circumstances with which the President is confronted rather than the institutional powers of the office. It is argued that the atrocities of 9/11 endowed Bush the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) it was how Bush met the exigencies by using American myths within his presidential rhetoric thus enabling the American public to rationalize the events and the way forward.

The 9/11 atrocities occurred with a worldwide audience watching the terrorization of New York and the prestigious American military headquarters of the Pentagon live on television. Therefore, the environment and events of the day would have affected the speechwriters while they were constructing the presidential rhetoric for that evening. The body of the chapter commences by examining the events of 9/11 and Bush's return to the White House, specifically the necessity for such an entrance. This is followed by an elucidation on the rhetorical value of the Oval Office for presenting the President's rhetoric and the way that the media technology facilitated the speechwriters' choice of venue. The critical analysis of Bush's evening address, known as the 'Awful Oval Address' will form the remainder of this chapter.

September 11, 2001:

Between the hours of 8:30am(EST) and 10:30am(EST)¹¹⁷ September 11, 2001 the American people and the American government sustained the worst attacks carried out by foreign terrorists on American soil in living memory. The media coverage began on *ABC's 'Good Morning America'* just as it was approaching its conclusion, Diane Sawyer, the presenter, was given a newsflash to read: 'some sort of explosion at the World Trade Center' (Shales, 2001). Shales (2001) insists it was not long after that, that all the networks discontinued commercials and commenced continuous coverage of the attacks. What remains interesting is the public,

¹¹⁷ Unless otherwise stated, any future reference to time will always be Eastern Standard Time (EST) since Florida (Bush's location when the attacks began), New York (the location of the World Trade Center), Pennsylvania (the location of United Airlines Flight 93 crash), and Arlington Va. (the location of the Pentagon) all fall within the Eastern Standard time zone.

institutional, and governmental response to the atrocities. This chapter reveals the media's role in facilitating presidential rhetorical opportunities, and equally disseminating that information to the American and international audiences.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century it was the omnipresent nature of the media that enabled the world to witness, and consequently be affected by, both the attacks of 9/11 and also Bush's response to the attacks. On the morning of September 11, 2001 Bush was a guest at Emma E. Booker primary school; a public engagement to read with a group of ten-year-olds. The visit had been organized to create awareness for Bush's educational programme. Nevertheless, while sitting reading with the children Bush could have been mistaken for any businessman, father, local or state dignitary. It was at that time, while reading with the children that Andrew H. Card Jr., Bush's Chief of Staff, disturbed proceedings and whispered into Bush's right ear, 'A second plane hit the second tower. America is under attack' (Woodward, 2003).

The picture of Bush being informed of the attacks has been imprinted on the 9/11 narratives. 'The president's hands are folded formally in his lap, his head turned to hear Card's words. His face has a distant sober look, almost frozen, edging on bewilderment' (Woodward, 2003: 15). The depiction of Bush's demeanour at that given moment was relatively universal, what varies considerably has been the contextual interpretation authors assimilate from that picture. In *Bush at War: Part I*, Woodward points to that episode merely to explain (rather than question or analyse) President Bush's perceptions at that moment: 'They had declared war on us, and I

made up my mind at that moment that we were going to war' (Bush quoted in Woodward, 2003: 15).

An alternative interpretation was that of Michael Moore's in *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The movie version depicted Bush as not merely edging on bewilderment, but completely stupefied. Moore (2004) has been relentless in his criticism of Bush, referring to him in various derogatory terms, and all of which point to the idea that Bush did not appreciate the severity of the news that had just been released. Moore (2004) went on to suggest that it was Bush's lack of insight and judgement that allowed the children of Emma E. Booker primary school to retain his attention for a further twenty minutes. This thesis is not trying to defend any particular narrative regarding the allocation of responsibility for the events of 9/11; that debate will continue between the revisionist conspiracy theorists and the received conspiracy theorists¹¹⁸ throughout history. Nevertheless, the reason for exemplifying the imprinted image of Bush on the morning of 9/11 is that it illustrates a common thread woven through divergent 9/11 narratives: a corroboration of the idea that Bush's comportment on the morning of September 11, 2001 was less than statesmanlike.

Something that has yet to be considered is why Bush's Chief of Staff, who knew that Bush had numerous cameras focused on his every movement, announced the news to the President in such a fashion and also why it was considered odd that Bush

¹¹⁸ David Ray Griffin describes all narratives regarding the events of 9/11 as conspiracy theories – even the 'official account'. David Ray Griffin is discussed later in this chapter.

looked bewildered. Card, in an interview on the 6th September 2011¹¹⁹, explained his actions on that morning, suggesting that a natural break in the exchanges occurred, which provided an appropriate juncture for informing Bush without frightening the children. Card (2011) also added that Bush carrying on talking to the children allowed him (Card) the time to organize the change of the itinerary for the day and to reach various contacts (Vice President, Head of FBI, National Security Advisor) who would be waiting to speak to the President when he came out of the classroom.

Before describing another possible way to understand Bush's quizzical expression on the morning of 9/11, it should be remembered that the point of examining him being informed about the attacks is to furnish the context for understanding the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) and the presidential rhetoric that emanates from that situation. Bush's look of bewilderment upon being informed of the planes hitting the towers perhaps reveals just that - he was bewildered. Whilst a simplistic notion, it reflects the fact that Bush, although President of the United States at the time, was and is, first and foremost a human being with all the complexities of personality and emotional adequacies that assumes. The significance is, prior to 9/11 no President had been informed of attacks on America, with the media present and able to capture the President's reaction upon hearing the news. For example, Clinton and the Oklahoma Bombing, Carter and the Iran Hostage affair, Johnson and the Kennedy assassination, Roosevelt and the Bombing of Pearl Harbour, these Presidents all heard the respective news without media attention focused on them.

¹¹⁹ Card, Andrew (2011) 'Ten years after 9/11, Interview with Andrew Card' *Aggie Media* <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5wbqmgmKLby> [accessed 10 December 2011].

On 9/11 all of that changed, Bush was the first, and may not be the last, US President to be broadcast by the media upon being informed of an attack on America. One thing is for certain, if and when that situation arises in the future it will be immediately compared to Bush's reaction on the morning of 9/11, and only then will anyone be able to make a more erudite judgement on the appropriateness of Bush's quizzical expression.

In spite of Bush's apparent unease he recognised the need to speak to the Emma T. Booker School and to the country (Woodward, 2003). At 9:30am George W. Bush stood before the cameras in the media centre of the elementary school. The contention is that it was a rather bemused looking Bush¹²⁰ (2001a) announcing in a one hundred and sixty-one word statement that:

*Two planes have crashed into the World Trade
Center in an apparent terrorist attack on our
country (Bush, 2001a)¹²¹.*

Many authors (Griffin, 2004; Moore, 2004; Mansfield, 2004; Weisberg, 2008; Woodward, 2003) have highlighted the demeanour of Bush during that first public statement made on September 11, 2001, however, not one of them has described him as statesmanlike, strong, authoritative, or distinguished. Instead these authors

¹²⁰ Watching the speeches delivered by Bush and others via Internet video links, enables the Researcher to come to an opinion on the comportment of Bush during these speeches. www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911.html. [accessed 08 December 2008] As the research progressed all information on presidential speeches, addresses, papers was accessed via the *American Presidency Project*, referenced under the name of the President.

¹²¹ This comes from: 'Remarks by the President After Two Planes Crash Into World Trade Center' www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911.html [accessed 08 December 2008] See Appendix 1.1 for full transcript.

have used adjectives such as shaken, bemused, stunned and ill-at-ease. Bush, it was considered, portrayed himself as a weak and ineffectual President.

Interestingly, Card (2011) during the interview, suggests that in the time between informing the President of the attacks and Bush leaving the children, one of the things which needed to be organized was someone writing 'some words' for Bush's statement before leaving the school. Rove¹²² indicates:

Bush wanted to speak to the media. Ari, Dan, the [P]resident, and I collaborated on a brief statement, with Bush scribbling on a pad ... Just over half an hour after American Flight 11 struck the Trade Center, it was still not clear whether it had been an act of domestic or international terrorism. So Bush announced he had ordered 'a full scale investigation (Rove, 2010: 251).

The language used throughout the statement is curiously colloquial, but at the same time it arouses the notion of the cowboy when Bush (2001a) states: '[the American government will] hunt down and to find those folks who committed this act [sic]'. Bush's (2001a) reference to 'hunting folks down' creates an image depicted in any mid-twentieth century Western film, whereby the sheriff begins 'rounding up' volunteers, a posse of 'goodies', who will track or 'hunt down' the 'baddie(s)'. A possible interpretation for using such language may have been that the metaphor of

¹²² Karl Rove was Bush's Senior Advisor and Deputy Chief of Staff until his resignation in August 2007. Rove on the morning of 9/11 was with the President at Emma E. Booker Primary School.

'hunting folks down' reflected the image of a well-known narrative with which the children could easily have identified. Bob Woodward (2003) accords prominence to another part of that statement in which Bush (2001a) states: 'Terrorism against our nation will not stand'. Bush Jr. was reiterating the legendary form of words that Bush Sr. had utilized eleven years previously, when confronting the immense challenge after Iraq occupied Kuwait in August 1990. As Rove (2010) asserts, at that point in the morning it was not clear whether the attacks were from domestic or international terrorists.

Before Bush departed on Air Force One from Sarasota airport¹²³, Florida, a Boeing 757 Flight 77, had crashed into the Pentagon leaving one hundred and eighty-eight people dead¹²⁴. A mere three minutes after George W. Bush was in the sky, the South Tower of the World Trade Center collapsed¹²⁵, followed thirty minutes later by the North Tower¹²⁶. At 10:06 am, a period between the collapsing of these towers an adjoining state, Pennsylvania, was discovering its own tragedy. In the middle of a

¹²³ Information that George W. Bush departs at 9:56am is available: (Associate Press, 12/9/2001; New York Times, 16/9/2001; Daily Telegraph, 16/12/2001; Washington Post, 27/1/2002; Daily Mail, 8/9/2002; ABC News, 11/9/2002; Wall Street Journal, 22/3/2004; 9/11 Commission, 17/6/2004). For a complete timeline of 9/11 see:

http://www.historycommons.org/timeline.jsp?timeline+complete_911_timeline&complete. [accessed 15 January 2009].

¹²⁴ The crash took place at 9:37am; of Flight 77 into the Pentagon, sixty-four passengers died, and one hundred and twenty-four people working at the Pentagon died immediately. A further person died a day later in hospital. For this and more statistical information about this crash see: CNN, 17/9/2001; North American Aerospace Defense Command 18/9/2001; Guardian 17/10/2001; Washington Post 21/11/2001; USA Today 13/8/2002; associated Press 21/8/2002; MSNBC 3/9/2002; ABC News 11/9/2001; CBS News, 11/9/2002.

http://www.historycommons.org/timeline.jsp?timeline+complete_911_timeline&complete. [accessed 15 January 2009].

¹²⁵ The South Tower was hit by flight 175 at 9:03am and collapses at 9:59am, information available from (Washington Post, 12/9/2001; New York Times, 12/9/2001; MSNBC, 22/9/2001; USA Today, 20/12/2001; Associated Press, 21/8/2002; ABC News, 11/9/2002; National Institute of Standards and Technology, 9/2005p. 44)

¹²⁶ Flight 11 hit the north side of the North Tower at 8:46am, at 10:28am, an hour and two minutes later, it collapsed (CNN, 12/9/2001; New York Times, 12/9/2001; MSNBC, 22/9/2001; Kim and Baum, 2002; Associated Press, 21/8/2002; National Institute of Standards and Technology, 9/2005, p. 33). This and more information is available on the 9/11 complete timeline (ft. 123).

field in Pennsylvania Flight 93 had hurtled to the ground, crashing into a disused mine shaft, creating a thirty-five foot crater and, killing all forty-four people on board including four hijackers¹²⁷.

During this time Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense was in the Pentagon and in his recent memoir indicates that he felt the Pentagon vibrate and ran to the parking lot and witnessed the chaos of the injured and rescue efforts (Rumsfeld, 2011).

Rumsfeld (2011) contacted Bush who was in flight and after went to the basement of the Pentagon increasing the 'threat alert' to a 'state of alert' and at the same time authorized fighter aircraft to protect Air Force 1.

Rumsfeld's (2011) memoir also reveals that it may not have been only Bush who was bewildered by the attacks. Rumsfeld did not follow protocol and remained contactable throughout 9/11 stating:

[I] was unwilling to be out of touch during the time

it would take to relocate me to a safe site

(Rumsfeld, 2011:339).

It could be suggested Rumsfeld's actions demonstrated commitment and courage.

However, it could also be evidence that he was not thinking logically having experienced the Pentagon attacks first hand. The latter may confirm why he reacted

¹²⁷ Flight 93 crashed into an unused field north of Somerset County Airport approximately fifteen minutes away from Washington D.C. (North American Aerospace Defense Command, 18/9/2001; CNN, 12/9/2001; Guardian 17/10/2001; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 28/10/2001; USA Today, 13/8/2002; Associated Press, 21/8/2002; MSNBC, 3/9/2002. For this and more information regarding the 9/11 Timeline see (ft.123)

as he did upon having a telephone conversation with Vice President Cheney (Ibid).

Rumsfeld's account was that Cheney announced:

*There's been at least three instances where we've
had reports of aircraft approaching Washington ... a
couple confirmed hijacked. And pursuant to the
President's instructions I gave authorization for them
to be taken out (Cheney in Rumsfeld, 2011: 339-40)*

As Rumsfeld was Secretary of Defense he should have been scathing, Cheney as Vice President had no Constitutional right to command the United States Air Force in any situation. The fact that Rumsfeld included this information in his memoir illustrates his unapologetic behaviour regarding his inability to assume command on September 11, 2001.

Cheney may have authorized the shooting down of civilian aircraft on 9/11.

However, in 2011 published audio information from the events of 9/11 revealed that North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) disregarded the command (Webster, 2011). Webster (2011) insists that the military recognized Cheney's order as 'outside the procedure of command' and ordered fighter pilots to note the number on the tail of the aircraft. Cheney's (2011) memoir suggests that he issued the order about 10:15 am and the 9/11 Commission Report states that Flight 93 crashed at 10:06 am. NORAD's inaction may have prevented further civilian casualties and ensured their safe retreat from the sky. The value of detailing the scenario of

Rumsfeld (2011) and Cheney (2011) on the morning of 9/11 is that it illustrates Bush was perhaps not alone in his confusion.

Condoleezza Rice National Security Adviser to Bush in 2001 by her own admission, acted 'out of character' that morning. Condoleezza (2011) indicates that approximately thirty minutes after the terrorists flew the second hijacked aircraft into the World Trade Center she had a telephone conversation with Bush in which he announced his intention to return to the White House and take control of the unfolding security crisis. Condoleezza states:

She said:

The President got on the phone and he said

You cannot come back here. The United States of America is under attack, you have to go to safety. We don't know what is going on here.

You can't. I said to him in a raised voice, and I never raised my voice to the President before. You cannot come back here. I hung up.

The President was quite annoyed with me to say the least. I've known the President a long time and I knew that he wanted nothing more than to be here at the helm of the ship (Adams, 2010)¹²⁸.

Bush said:

I'm coming back

I'm coming back

¹²⁸ Adams, Guy (2010) remains the initial source of the quotes, although Rice, Condoleezza (2011) talks about the same topic.

Consequently, the great American public were, arguably, witnessing a less than statesmanlike President stating: '[there has been] an apparent terrorist attack on our country' (Bush, 2001a) only to be physically confronted with the true enormity of the situation on their television screens. At the same time, Bush was expressing his desire to return to the Washington DC and his National Security Adviser shouts uncharacteristically and thus overrides the desire. The media presentation, while concentrating on Bush neglects to portray what his close advisers were doing and why. The memoirs of Frum (2003), Rove (2010), Cheney (2011), Rumsfeld (2011) and Rice (2011) illustrate that throughout the Administration there was turmoil, confusion and genuine concern. The media could have concentrated more on Bush's advisers as their reflections ten years on question the assumptions perpetuated at the time around Bush's response.

The cameras captured and continued to show in perpetual repetition, the commercial airliners crashing into the World Trade Center twin towers, flames billowing from every orifice of the impact, people jumping to their certain death and finally, the total disintegration of the buildings. Whilst horrified by what had transpired thus far, everyone watching was at that point spellbound and transported to a new incredulity. The sheer panic in the faces of the zombie-like figures emerging from an avalanche of ash after the collapse of the first twin tower; the sight of a Boeing 757 projectile tail section attached to the side of the Pentagon with bodies strewn across the lawn on stretchers; and finally, the expeditious collapse and disintegration of the World Trade

Center North twin tower will be forever etched in the psyche of all people watching that day.

On the importance of TV news and the value of advertisements to cope with tragic news, Paglia states:

*By moving from disaster to commercial, TV creates
the effect of Greek tragedy: emotion, then detachment;
contemplation of loss, then philosophical perspective.
... To make that radical switch from disaster to detachment
is, I think, a maturing process. If you fully responded
emotionally to every disaster you saw, you'd be a mess.
In fact, you'd be a perpetual child, a psychological cripple.
Wisdom by definition is philosophical detachment from
life's disasters (Paglia, 1999: 299).*

If Paglia's (1999) idea is accepted, and this thesis considers the notion detailed here helpful, then it is quite ironic that on a day in which the American people would have benefitted from some distraction and detachment. Unfortunately, commercial advertising was cancelled. To make matters worse the actual events were repeated over and over again, thus creating the effect of a continual re-traumatisation. The traumatic attack and resulting consequences were witnessed by audiences worldwide and thus affected the American public in a way that media technology deriving from any previous era could never have accomplished. However, it is also a contention of this thesis that the enhanced influence of television was also used by

Bush in augmenting the rhetorical nature of the presidency and thus adding gravitas to his presidential rhetoric, as was witnessed on the evening of 9/11.

THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001:

Bush Returns to Washington:

Bush flew to Washington on the evening of September 11, escorted by F-15 and F-16 fighter planes (Apple Jr., 2001). The argument being put forward is that everything Bush carried out on the evening of 9/11 was done with an understanding (either by his aides, himself, or through joint consultation) of how it would have been reflected upon by the nation. Bush chose to board Marine One, the President's helicopter, for the short journey to the South Lawn of the White House in a show of strength and defiance. Imagine the media coverage, if the President had chosen to return to the White House via a motorcade. It conjures up images of a western ghost town, the Presidential motorcade arriving back to the deserted streets of Washington D.C. Instead it was the image of the helicopter landing on the South Lawn that the media captured. An ideal opportunity to demonstrate to the nation that the President of the United States, Commander in Chief of the United States Armed Forces was at the helm and that American airspace had been reclaimed. This is the same lawn where, eleven years earlier, his father, as President of the United States at that time, had uttered those immortal words: 'Terrorism against our nation will not stand', the phrase Bush Jnr. (2001a) utilized that very morning, even while coming across as

perhaps weak and ineffectual. It stands to reason that if Bush, while at a weak point, appreciates the significance of legends and myths within American identity, then either he or his aides would have appreciated the symbolism of conspicuously arriving back at the White House. Particularly, as The White House is known synonymously around the world with the Executive Office of the President of the United States of America.

A Charge To Keep the name of a book Bush co-authored with Michael Herskowitz and the painting Bush moved to the Oval Office once elected. Weisberg (2008) proposes that Bush's interpretation of the painting reflected his own personal religious identity. The painting depicts a Western terrain with a cowboy that happens to resemble Bush, cantering up a rugged hill with two other riders in pursuit. Bush referred to the title of the painting as 'A Charge To Keep'¹²⁹, after Charles Wesley's Methodist Hymn with the same title (Ibid). As Governor the interpretation Bush presented was that his staff (the two riders in pursuit) followed him a determined horseman cantering up the precipitous and craggy trail (Weisberg, 2008). Bush followed this with: 'What adds complete life to the painting for me is the message of Charles Wesley that we serve One greater than ourselves.'¹³⁰ Bush was relating himself to the front rider, whom he identified as a type of 'Christian cowboy', an exemplar of resolute vitality, fortitude, and moral simplicity. Bush after positioning the painting in the Oval Office altered his interpretation suggesting it symbolized the circuit-riders who disseminated Methodism throughout the Alleghenies during the

¹²⁹ The same title is used as a book charting George W. Bush on his way to becoming President, in which this illustration is used on the back cover. In: Bush, G.W. and Herskovitz, Michael (2001) *A Charge To Keep: My Journey To The Whitehouse*. New York: Harper Collins Publishing.

¹³⁰ This is taken from Weisberg, J. (2008, p 89-90) who in turn has recovered this information from the book *A Charge To Keep*, a biography about George W. Bush; Weisberg does not supply a page number from which he retrieved the quote.

nineteenth century (Weisberg, 2008). Weisberg's (2008, p 90) conclusion was that 'the cowboy who looked like Bush was a missionary of his own denomination'.

Importantly, however, Weisberg (2008) has revealed the artist W.H.D. Koerner, painted this picture to illustrate a Western short story called 'The Slipper Tongue,' produced for the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1916. The tale was of a debonair horse thief that was captured, and later absconded from a lynch mob in the Nebraska Sand Hills, and the picture illustrated the cowboy absconding (Ibid). In the magazine, Weisberg (2008, p 90) states, the picture carried the heading 'Had His Start Been Fifteen Minutes Longer He Would Not Have Been Caught'. The original title would suggest that the picture had no religious meaning. The horseman at the front, with whom Bush was associating himself was 'wanted dead er a-live' (Ibid). However, ironically, the front horseman emerges as the hero and those chasing the actual thieves. The following year, *The Saturday Evening Post* recycled the illustration within a non-fiction article regarding chaos in Mexico called 'Ways That Are Dark' (Ibid). In 1917 the article was entitled the 'Bandits Move About from Town to Town, Pillaging Whatever They Can Find'. The relationship between Charles Wesley's hymn and the painting only developed from the third re-cycling of the illustration. In 1918 it was published with a romantic narrative published in *The Country Gentleman*. The narrative depicted the story of a son who was bequeathed an estate from his father a magnificent forest in the Northeast, and the painting represented a petition to save it from marauding timber barons (Weisberg, 2008).

This thesis would suggest Bush first as Governor of Texas, and, latterly as President, changed the title of the painting to 'A Charge To Keep', added a new mythology and later included a religious message. The example further reveals that Bush fully appreciated the ability of myths and metaphors for creating meaning and understanding. The symbolism, as Bush has chosen to represent the painting reinforced the concept of the cowboy a 'Christian cowboy' within the myth of the frontier spirit. Bush making allusions to the frontier spirit relates back to Bellah (1992) and the importance of the 'wilderness' and 'paradise' and reflects the myth of America as the Chosen Land. Originally however, it was the farmer that symbolized the frontier spirit, the cowboy remains a relatively recent phenomenon.

It was Thomas Jefferson that famously praised farmers as 'the chosen people of God', and fashioned physiocratic¹³¹ criteria to the American surroundings. This has to be understood within the 'historical epistemology' (Poovey, 1995) in which it is found. At the end of the eighteenth century Hector St John de Crevecoeur in his works, *Letters From and American Farmer* engages the term, American farmer, in a very specific way. Farming, Manning (1997) notes, during the period of the colonies in America was strictly a matter of endurance in a frail stretch of cultivation carved from a 'crazy land'; as almost insurmountable natural landscapes prepared at any point in time to retrieve its territorial wilderness. Even during the last quarter of the

¹³¹ 'The adjective 'physiocratic' was coined by Pierre-Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, a French friend of Thomas Jefferson and disciple of the political economist Francois Quesnay. It describes the belief that the wealth and virtue of nations resides in the cultivation of land, and that agrarian nations are the most contented.

Thomas Jefferson's quote comes from notes on the State of Virginia (New York, Evanston, and London, 1964, p 157). For more information on the physiocrats, see *The Correspondence of Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours, with an Introduction on Jefferson and the Physiocrats* by Gilbert Chinard (Baltimore, 1931). This information is available in: De Crevecoeur, J. Hector St John (1997) (original 1782), *Letters from an American Farmer*, (Ed.) Introduction and Notes, Manning, Susan, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

eighteenth century Crèvecoeur's (1782) narrator takes great trouble to indicate that the term farmer assumed a very particular meaning in America. Unlike Europe, in America, Crèvecoeur (1782) asserts, a farmer is not a tenant indebted with taxes and serving tithes, instead a farmer is a freeholder, a master of his own destiny. Manning (1997) insists it was a significant difference in the unfolding description of what it meant to be an American. The English traveller, in 1794, claimed that nine out of ten American legislators were farmers (Manning, 1997).

The significance of the frontier spirit within the American religious identity has its roots in the emergence of America as a nation. It may no longer be symbolized as a farmer in the sense of a farmer sitting on a huge tractor or combine harvester. Nevertheless, the frontier spirit is still associated with man facing the untamed land usually in the sense of the cowboy. The cowboy, however, maintains its correlation with the farmer when considered within the context of the ranch hands rounding up the cattle across the great open prairies of Montana and the western area of the USA. Bush throughout his Presidency continued to display 'A Charge to Keep' within The Oval Office.

Just as Bush and his aides appreciated the symbolic value of the painting for reproducing myths the symbolic value of the Oval Office cannot be underestimated. This thesis highlights the value and significance of the media in emphasizing the rhetorical nature of the presidency on evening of September 11, which enabled Bush speaking from the Oval Office, seated behind the Resolute Desk, flanked either side by the American flag and the President's flag, to acquire a previously un-assumed,

Presidential comportment. The rhetorical nature of the institution of the presidency helped in that transformation and will be commented upon shortly. The ability to persuade as President is not always dependent upon a dynamic speech. Indeed Bush's director of speechwriting, Michael Gerson states:

*Usually when you're a speechwriter, even for a [P]resident
of the United States, the words don't make that much
difference,' ... 'It's important to have a high standard.
It's important to have some knowledge of the tradition
(Schlesinger, 2008: 463).*

The American public were in a state of shock, terror and incredulity after 9/11. The requirement for Bush on that particular night was to reassure and calm people's fears. Perhaps the purpose of using myths within the presidential rhetoric on the evening of 9/11 was to initiate an understanding about the horrific atrocity of the day. Campbell (1988) asserts that by imparting explanations through myths, people have the capacity to make sense of what has happened in their own lives. It is useful to reiterate the significance of myths and what they reveal. Campbell (1988) indicates that myths are expressions in emblematical or figurative images, in metaphorical images, of the rivalry within or between people, processes, and structures. The rivalry being referred to is the construction of otherness, either within or between people, processes, and structures. Campbell elucidates on what myths reveal:

*what we're seeking is an experience of being alive,
so that our life experiences on the purely physical
plane will have resonances within our own innermost
being and reality, so that we actually feel the rapture*

*of being alive. That's what it's all finally about, and
that's what these clues [myths] help us to find within
ourselves (Campbell, 1988: 5).*

It is maintained that the purpose of Bush using myths post 9/11 was because '[myths] have a resonance within our innermost being and reality' (Campbell, 1988: 5). This would infer that whether Bush performed a 'good' speech was not critical because the myths would speak to the American public's 'innermost being and reality' (Ibid). Otto (1973) indicated that when people are in a state of bewilderment, terror and wonderment the 'rhetoric of otherness'¹³², conveyed through religious metaphors and myths, is most effective. Consequently myths, in the context of 9/11, with the American public having witnessed such a traumatic event, were an ideal transmitter for explaining the experience and the necessary reaction.

Bush's Evening Address:

Bush's address to the American public, and the world at large, immediately highlighted the importance of the use of religious myths within the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). Religious myths denote here phrases, metaphors, or language that arouses religious identity understood as 'moral orientation' (Eisenach, 2007). Discussions on freedom, democracy, or 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' have, to Americans, an almost religious meaning. Marsden (2008)

¹³² Otto's (1973) 'rhetoric of otherness' and the value of religious myths are expanded upon in Chapter Three.

asserts that the language of freedom/democracy presents religious metaphor with political notions¹³³. Within such circumstances:

*freedom/Jesus becomes apparent at the
intellectual level of 'every mind' and at the
spiritual level with 'every soul' ... in responding
to the call of freedom/Jesus, the individual/nation
was able to escape from the slavery of tyranny,
doubt and unbelief ... (Marsden, 2008: 101).*

Bush's address commenced with such inferences:

*Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life,
our very freedom came under attack (Bush, 2001c)¹³⁴.*

President Bush had, by starting with those words found a way to unite the American public, since Americans will defend their freedom and democracy with a zeal which is religious in nature.

The portrayal of America's adversary came two short sentences later when Bush stated:

¹³³ Chapter Three the section on The Value of Myths, Campbell's (1988) interpretation of the American Seal highlight the significance of democracy within American myths. Chapter Four the section on Print, Postman's (1999) quote on the influence of print in creating a democracy corroborates this idea. It is also supported in the same chapter in the section on Television, Paglia's (1999) reference to the ways symbolic images reinforce America's democratic ideals.

¹³⁴ Bush, George W. (2001c) 'Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks' (also known as 'Awful Oval Address'). In: Peters, Gerhard and Woolley, John T. (eds.) *American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=58057> [accessed 02 April 2009]. Appendix 1.3.

*Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil,
despicable acts of terror (Bush, 2001c).*

By describing the terrorist attacks within that context, instantly the perpetrators have been 'Othered'. Bush, with his inflexion was using 'evil' as a noun, and therefore, was talking about Satan or the devil. However, the text without the knowledge of Bush's inflexion would suggest that 'evil' was being used in the address as an adjective, within that understanding Bush was referring to evildoers, depraved people, villainous people, or even immoral people who had carried out the atrocities. The different interpretations have a resonance within the wide variety of beliefs, faiths and secularists alike. The ambiguity of the way Bush delivered the address and the way it was written suggests that within either interpretation there was a notion of Satan, either working independently or through people, who had caused such atrocities.

The equivocal way that Bush used 'evil' meant that it provided meaning and resonated with a morally principled nation. This thesis is not arguing about the subtleties of different Christian beliefs, but proposing the idea that there is a basic level of agreement among Christians regarding the goodness of God having the ability to defeat 'evil'¹³⁵. The theological question of whether 'evil' is a part of every human nature or an entity in and of itself will be left to religious scholars. Therefore, within a basic understanding it may not be too outlandish to suggest that Americans may view Bush's statement as an opportunity for God, working through his Chosen

¹³⁵ Michael Gerson, Bush's Chief Speech Writer studied theology at university.

Nation to defeat either Satan or evil people. Bush reinforced that concept nine sentences later:

Today, our nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America – with the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbo[u]rs who came to give blood and help in any way they could (Bush, 2001c).

This extract not only brings to the attention the idea of ‘good’ vs. ‘evil’ but also conjures up special meaning for Evangelicals and the Christian Right. It is maintained that by using the phrase ‘caring for strangers’ Bush (2001c) was alluding to the well-known parable of the Good Samaritan, and that language was one which Evangelicals would have recognized immediately. At the same time, that phrase would not have appeared to secularists to be bible thumping, but rather as way of inspiring moral righteousness.

Interestingly, throughout the speech, preceding every connotation of the ‘other’, Bush alluded to American democracy and what America represented. The previous example clearly illustrated that, as does the following:

America was targeted for attack because we’re the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining (Bush, 2001c).

A phrase that was immediately followed by:

*Today our nation saw evil, the very worst
of human nature (Bush, 2001c).*

The dichotomy between how 'America' behaved and how the 'other' behaved continued throughout the speech, exemplified by:

*The functions of our government continue without
interruption. Federal agencies in Washington
which had to be evacuated today are reopening for
essential personnel tonight, and will be open for
business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain
strong, and the American economy will be open for
business, as well (Bush, 2001c).*

Followed immediately by:

*The search is underway for those who are
behind these evil acts. We will make no
distinction between the terrorists who committed
these acts and those who harbo[u]r them (2001c).*

At the end of the speech that dichotomy not only precedes but also follows to ensure a final uniting concept for the American people:

*This is a day when all Americans from every
walk of life unite in our resolve for justice*

and peace (Bush, 2001c).

The preamble for:

*America has stood down enemies before,
and we will do so this time. ... (Bush, 2001c).*

The phrase was succeeded by:

*Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that
is good and just in our world (Bush, 2001).*

The continual allusion to difference¹³⁶ and otherness illustrated by utilizing the myth of the Chosen Nation was important for reinforcing a united American understanding.

Near the end of the address Bush consolidated the idea of America as the Chosen People:

*we [Americans] will be comforted by a power
greater than any of us, spoken through the ages
in Psalm 23: 'Even though I walk through the valley
of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are
with me (Bush, 2001c).*

¹³⁶ The concept of 'difference' and 'differance' (Derrida, 1981) and 'appropriation' (Derrida, 2001) within the construction of otherness is examined in Chapter Three.

Bush (2001c) addressing the nation with the comment that ‘we will be comforted by a power greater than any of us’ was not endeavouring to suggest that innocent bystanders, good people, from around the world, would be comforted. The circumstances suggest that Bush was talking directly to the citizens of the United States, we, the American people the Chosen Ones were ‘to be comforted’. The notion was underlined by Bush’s (2001c) use of the Psalm: ‘I fear no evil, for You are with me’. The phrase had the benefit of implying that it was the American people to whom Bush was referring and that Americans could be reassured they would be protected from evil (in that case, the ‘evil’ that caused the atrocities of September 11, 2001).

This thesis contends that within the context of the ‘rhetorical situation’ (Bitzer, 1968), Bush was meeting the demands of that situation, which was to reassure and calm a terrified and incredulous nation. If that is taken into account and considered in conjunction with Campbell’s (1988) concept that myths have meaning and speak to the experience. Bush’s oratorical ability on the evening of September 11, 2001 was rendered immaterial. Bush on that evening, under such extreme circumstances needed to convey a message to a traumatized nation, and it had to be a message that people in a state of shock could comprehend. Therefore, the images and fashion by which Bush arrived back in Washington were significant, as they set the scene for his Oval Office Address. Bush, via the speechwriter’s quill filled his address to the American people with the ‘rhetoric of otherness’ because it had the capacity to speak to their very being. The essence of that address was that the American people as the Chosen Ones, were on the side of moral justice and rightness, and therefore God would look after them.

It might then equally be true that these myths would not only have had an effect on the American public, but also produced an understanding within the global community. For example in a leading French newspaper, *Le Monde*, the headline the following morning was: 'We Are All Americans'¹³⁷. In the article Colombani (2001) elucidates that just as America ensured the freedom of France (WWII), France would stand in solidarity with America facing the 'the Great Satan'. However, for Muslims around the world the choice might not have been so simplistic¹³⁸.

Bush by employing the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through religious myths created a situation that at some level of understanding, and intentional or not remains inconsequential, all Muslims were de facto 'evil'. This occurred because the inherent challenge in utilizing myths because they speak to people's very being, the message was both reassuring but also nebulous. The message was reassuring in so far as the public had the ability to assimilate information through myths despite being in a state of shock and terror. However, the message was disturbing in the sense that the nebulous nature of myths enabled them to be used to create meaning for all. This indiscriminate understanding led to the American public assimilating knowledge without questioning and without distinguishing between the fanatical ideals of al-Qaeda as 'evil' and all other Muslims. The result was that the American public received the patriotic discourse through myths, which did not deliver a nuanced

¹³⁷ Colombani, Jean-Marie (2001) *Le Monde*. Paris: September 12: pp. 1. See Appendix 1.4 for examples of support from around the world.

¹³⁸ By late afternoon on September 11, 2001 news reports were suggesting Osama bin Laden was the primary suspect for organizing the attacks. Stout, D. (2001) 'In Washington An Attack on a Symbol of American Power', *New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/11/11CND-PENT.html?scp=98sq=september112001&st=cse&pagewanted=1>. [access 01 December 2010].

knowledge. This result was complicated further because as 'patriotic' Americans they needed to proffer unswerving support upon their President, creating a climate in which questioning rhetoric or policy became un-American.

It was not during the 'Awful Oval Address' that Bush first utilized religious myths on 9/11. Bush had earlier addressed the American public from Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana introducing the myth of the Chosen People in an effort to explain the experience. In the last thirty seconds of that statement Bush finally stood up tall, looked directly at the camera, and regained his composure. Coincidentally, it was also at that point within the statement that Bush delivered his only religious analogy:

The resolve of our great nation is being tested.

But make no mistake: We will show the world

that we will pass this test (Bush, 2001b)¹³⁹.

It is maintained that Bush was making a reference to the Lord's Prayer. However, why the word 'tested' has religious significance as a signifier has been elaborated upon in Chapter Seven. President Carter invoked the term regularly and conspicuously, unlike Bush who used it far more discriminatingly. Bush's reference to the 'Lord's Prayer' was indicative of the idea that God does not stop evil occurring, or impede individuals from being tempted by evil. Bush was suggesting therefore that America, the Chosen Nation, was going to overcome evil, rather than relinquish itself to evil. Considering that statement was delivered during the day of 9/11 it may

¹³⁹ The complete transcript 'Remarks by the President Upon Arrival at Barksdale Air Force Base' is Appendix 1.2. The transcript and a video of Bush delivering the statement was initially accessed via www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-1.html. [accessed 3 November 2008].

be the case that Bush was trying to engage the myth of the Chosen Nation at the time to buttress the courage of the American public, and equally reinforce his own personal resolve.

Until returning to the White House at around 1900hrs, Bush had been flying from Florida to Air Force bases in Louisiana and Nebraska, remaining predominantly unseen by an anxious American public. While security issues purportedly dictated those events as Rice (2011) and Rumsfeld (2011) confirm, Bush's unmistakably subdued appearances throughout the day were unsettling even to some of his close associates. The subdued nature was arousing controversy about whether Bush should have made greater efforts to reassure the nation (Balz, 2001). However, Sen. McCain (R-Ariz.) insisted the nation needed to unite behind Bush in its hour of crisis. McCain added to that a note of caution, that the reply to what he had described as an 'act of war,' may require significant changes to the United States of America (Ibid). Little could anyone have realised the truly transforming nature which the atrocities of September 11, 2001 would come to have on Bush's popularity, but perhaps the rhetorical nature of the institution helped to facilitate Bush in attaining the confidence of the American public.

RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY:

Figure 6 Resolute Desk, Oval Office

On the evening of September 11, 2001 the media broadcast George W. Bush, President of the United States, then the most influential world leader, and Commander in Chief of the United States Armed Forces, from the Oval Office of the White House to a global audience. The significance of the Oval Office cannot be overstated, it has always been the most important room of the White House, where Presidents throughout the history of the United States have met foreign Heads of State, carried out their daily work, signed Executive orders, and addressed the American people. The mere mention of the Oval Office has always contained an implicit reference to the presidency of the United States. The Oval Office was constructed in the West Wing of the White House; its architectural shape gave the office an air of distinction but the symbolism in the office has been witnessed in every facet of its design. The Oval Office was decorated replete with emblematic furnishings, the carpet being an excellent example. The carpet has been

constructed specifically for the Oval Office with the Seal of the President woven into the carpet and positioned in the room in front of the Resolute Desk (discussed shortly) and framing a central focal point on the floor.



Figure 7 Presidential Seal

The Presidential Seal displays the 'spread-winged eagle of the United States Great Seal' encircled by fifty stars¹⁴⁰. The eagle was changed to the natural colours of the American bald eagle with its head turned towards its right, where the eagle's talon holds an olive branch. The left talon at the same time clutching a group of arrows to signify America's military might¹⁴¹. The fifty stars surrounding the eagle signify that all the people throughout the United States recognize the man representing them as President. The words 'seal of the President of the United States' are printed within the seal while the banner above the eagle reads 'E pluribus Unum', which translated into English as: 'out of many, one' (Oval Office, 2009). The connotation of the motto

¹⁴⁰ Oval Office (2009) 'Tour the Oval Office' *Jimmy Carter Library*. http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/tour/ovaloffice/popup/sea_plaque.html [accessed 12 December 2009]. All information about the Presidential seal and Presidential flag originate from this website. Similar information, but not the same detailed information is also available on Oval Office (2009) 'The Oval Office' *White House History*. <http://www.whitehouse/history/ovaloffice> [accessed 12 February 2009].

¹⁴¹ Interestingly, it was President Truman in 1945 who made alterations to the seal, changing the colour of the eagle from all white to that of the natural colours of the American bald eagle and changing the direction the eagle was looking. His reasoning being that America should always be looking for peace while at the same time understanding that when peace is not possible America should be prepared to take military action.

was two-fold: implying that out of many colonies (or states as they are now known) developed one nation; and, from many peoples, nationalities, ancestry and ethnicities have developed one society and nation. The coat of arms on the seal is symbolic: white for decency and righteousness; red for fortitude and resilience; and blue of the Chief signifying vigilance, diligence, and integrity (Oval Office, 2009). The carpet was but one feature, it works in conjunction with the desk and flags to form the framed image often viewed by millions of people when the United States President addresses the nation from the Oval Office. Alternatively, when the President of the United States has been pictured standing in the Oval Office with 'Heads of State' it has often been with the Presidential Seal before their feet, forming the focal point of that scene.

When addressing the American people however, the President of the United States has frequently been seated behind the Resolute Desk¹⁴². *HMS Resolute* was an abandoned English ship that the Americans, as genial neighbours, returned to England early in the nineteenth century. After the retirement of *HMS Resolute* Queen Victoria had the desk commissioned from the ship's timbers. The Resolute Desk was a gift from Queen Victoria to President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1880, crafted in the style of a partners' desk. Since President Hayes, every President apart from Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford has found a use for this desk, and it became legendary after a photograph captured John Jr. peering from behind the knee-hole panel while President John F. Kennedy was working (Oval

¹⁴² All information regarding the Resolute Desk originates from 'The Oval Office', *White House History* www.whitehouse/history/ovaloffice and 'Tour of the Oval Office' *Jimmy Carter Library* <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/tour/ovaloffice/popup/desk.html> [accessed April 20, 2009 and June 18, 2009 respectively].

Office, 2009b). Nevertheless, it was not the carpet, the President's flag, nor the Resolute Desk that possessed the strongest mythological perceptions for either the American public or the world at large. The American flag has long since captured that accolade.

Interestingly, two flags frame the image of the President when pictured sitting at the Resolute Desk in the Oval Office. The President's flag is emblazoned with the Presidential seal (Oval Office, 2009b), the same as that described in the Oval Office carpet and, therefore, possessing great historical symbolism. The American flag on the alternate side of the President remains the most widely recognized and mythological symbol in the United States.



Figure 8 American Flag

Leepson (2005) asserts that the American flag undeniably has been all pervasive in the political, social and sentimental minds and hearts of millions of Americans. This has been achieved because the American flag represents everything that has been praiseworthy in America's political history. The flag symbolizes the democratic type of government and the numerous freedoms Americans have experienced since 1776 (ibid). Consequently the flag facilitates a uniting image for a comparatively young nation comprising principally of immigrants. Leepson (2005) goes on to suggest that

the near religious devotion that the great majority of Americans bestow on the flag emanates from the circumstance that America does not possess a state religion or a royal family. The American flag came to epitomize more than any other symbol within in the United States of America after 9/11, the nation's reception of Bush's discourse for patriotism.

BUSH GAINS LEGITIMACY:

The country required a strong purposeful President to unite them in comprehending and reacting to the atrocities that had befallen them. These may not be the attributes most likely to have been used in describing Bush prior to 9/11, a President who lacked voting ratification. The first nine months of his presidency, a 'honey-moon' period for most presidencies, presidential performance polls indicate that when comparing Bush to any President from FDR to Obama with respect to his performance approval ratings he was third from the bottom of the results¹⁴³ (see table below). This was assessed by deriving the mean performance approval rating of Bush between 24-25 January 2001 and 4-6 September 2001, and comparing the findings with the first nine months mean percentage performance approval rating of each President from F.D. Roosevelt to Barack Obama. From January 2001, upon his inauguration, until September 6, 2001 Bush averaged a 55.8%¹⁴⁴ positive performance approval rating. It is suggested that this average was raised to that

¹⁴³ Presidential performance approval ratings *Roper Center for Public Opinion Research* (2012) 'Presidential Approval Ratings' <http://webapps.ropercenter.uconn.edu/CFIDE/roper/presidential>. [accessed 12 April 2012]. All figures within the table were derived from this access period.

¹⁴⁴ Presidential performance approval ratings *Roper Center for Public Opinion Research*: http://137.99.36.203/CFIDE/roper/presidential/webroot/presidential_rating.cfm.d. [accessed 06 July 2008].

level as a result of the April 2001 approval rating of 63%, which was influenced by a notable foreign policy success: Colin Powell, Secretary of State, successfully defused the Chinese hostage crisis, thus enhancing Bush's popularity for a short period¹⁴⁵. The only two Presidents who amassed less public support in the first nine months of their incumbency were: Gerald Ford who had the misfortune to follow Nixon after the Watergate Affair and achieved an average rate of 46.4%, and William J. Clinton who acquired only 48.3% average rate from the positive performance approval ratings. Laham (1996) contends that Clinton's poor ratings were the result of his administration endeavouring to push through a Health Care Reform bill, without public understanding and media coverage that fuelled the public's anxiety about the reform.

¹⁴⁵ In April 2001, there was a confrontation over the South China Sea between the US and the People's Republic of China (PRC) concerning a collision between a US Navy EP-3 reconnaissance plane and a PLA Naval F-8 fighter that crashed. The US crew made an emergency landing at the PLA's Lingshui airfield and the PRC detained the 24 crew members for 11 days. Kan, Shirley A. (2001) 'China-U.S. Aircraft Collision Incident of April 2001' *CRS Report for Congress: Assessments and Policy Implications* <http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/row/RL30946.pdf> . [accessed 15 October 2010].

President	First nine months of presidency	Average Performance approval rating
Franklin D. Roosevelt	4-9/August/1937 – 22-27/May/1938	59%
Harry S. Truman	7-12/January/1949 – 4-9/September/1949	56.4%
Dwight D. Eisenhower	1-5/February/1953 – 9-14/October/1953	69.6%
John F. Kennedy	10-15/February/1961 – 19-24/October/1961	75.9%
Lyndon B. Johnson	7-12/January/1965 – 16-21/September/1965	67.2%
Richard Nixon	23-28/January/1969 – 17-22/September/1969	61.4%
Gerald Ford	16-19/August – 2-5/May/1975	46.4%
Jimmy Carter	4-7/February/1977 – 21-24/October/1977	64%
Ronald Reagan	30/Jan-2/Feb/1981 – 18-21/September/1981	59.4%
George H.W. Bush	24-28/January/1989 - 22-24/September/1989	65.7%
William J. Clinton	23-26/January/1993 – 24-26/September/1993	48.3%
George W. Bush	24-25/January/2001 – 4-6/September/2001	55.8%
Barack M. Obama	20-22/January/2009 – 8-10/September/2009	61.9%

Table 1 Presidential Performance Rating

Despite the April surge Bush did not achieve the support of either George H.W. Bush (65.7%) or Jimmy Carter (64%), both of whom served only one term as President¹⁴⁶.

The results would suggest that from the public's perception Bush began his incumbency as an uninspiring president, which may have been influenced by the continued media speculation regarding his election legitimacy (expanded upon shortly). The Roper Center (2012) statistics further reveal that polls carried out between 24 August 2001 and 8 September 2001 place Bush's positive performance

¹⁴⁶ Roper (2012) each percentage mean was the result of adding all approval ratings together between the dates delineated and dividing by the number of ratings available, this delivered the figure for the mean. While originally accessed on 06-07- 2008, all figures were subsequently checked and re-calculated on 12-04-2012.

approval rating at 50% and 51%. These figures highlight Bush's performance from the position of the American public however it is valuable to consider the governmental pressures Bush's administration faced during that period of office.

Price and Coleman (2003) argue that Bush, despite winning the presidency in such a controversial manner encountered a relatively small amount of legitimacy challenges. Al Gore and the great majority of Democratic elites failed to challenge Bush's presidential legitimacy vociferously or publicly due to their personal interests. While the 2000 election may best be remembered for the Presidential result, it also concluded in the Democrats gaining four seats in the Senate putting them at parity with the Republicans, after having been the minority party for eight years¹⁴⁷. Price and Coleman (2003) cite the examples of Senators Max Baucus of Montana, John Breaux of Louisiana, Tim Johnson of South Dakota, and Ben Nelson of Nebraska whom had more to lose than to gain from hostile partisan allegations of illegitimacy against the incoming Bush administration. The one elite-level demonstration regarding Bush's legitimacy was conducted by the Congressional Black Caucus that abandoned the House of Representatives Chamber during a vote-counting ceremony (Price and Coleman, 2003). Indeed some elite Democrats, such as Teddy Kennedy, supported Bush's Education Bill during the initial Bush term and, arguably, by so doing legitimized Bush's presidency.

President Bush was not the only President to have questions asked regarding his legitimacy as President of the United States of America. Price and Coleman (2003)

¹⁴⁷ Information gained accessed on 30-05-2011 at: <http://www.uselections.org/Results/Index.html>

cite the partisan battles of: John Quincy Adams who was confronted by a fiercely tenacious Andrew Jackson and a burgeoning Democratic force in the 1820s; and Bill Clinton, who throughout his time in office had his legitimacy questioned by Newt Gingrich and the Republican Right. The key difference between the presidential experiences revolves around the quarter from which the questions originate. The *New York Times* alone, during the first nine months of the Bush Presidency, published over twenty-four articles questioning, either specifically or analogically, his legitimacy as President of the United States. This figure omits to mention the articles that appeared in: *The New Yorker*, *The Washington Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, or looking further afield at other influential global newsprint, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, and *The Spectator*, to name but a few. However, from the moment the terrorist attacks occurred on September 11, 2001, legitimacy ceased to be a matter of contention. Perhaps this is best illustrated by the example of Al Gore, the Democratic presidential candidate for the 2000 election and the person who had the most to lose by Bush remaining as President of the United States. Gore insisted after the attacks of 9/11 that it was time to stop questioning the legitimacy of Bush as President of the United States and for all to rally behind him.

Bush's presidential rhetoric fashioned and delivered for the purpose of meeting the demands of the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, united the American public and bolstered his performance approval rating. Within two days of the terrorist attacks 86% of Americans thought Bush was 'handling his job as President well' and by October 9, 2001 this had spiralled to

92%¹⁴⁸ (Poll, 2001). This is an increase of 35% and 41% respectively from just a few days prior to the September 11th attacks and up 23% and 29% respectively on Bush's previous highest rating of 63% on April 22, 2001 (Polling Report, 2011). Rudalevige (2010) uses the polling statistics from the 25 – 27 September, 2001 (Bush 90%, approval rating) (Polling Report, 2011) to support his argument that the speeches prior to the 20 September 2001 were 'meandering bellicosity'. However, what he neglects to articulate was that on 13 September 2001 Bush's job approval rating went up to 86% (Polling Report, 2011; Roper, 2012) which would have suggested slightly better than 'meandering bellicosity'. Consequently, it only went up by a mere 4% between 13 September 2001 and the 20 September 2001 speech.

The performance approval ratings did not however, extend to government as a whole. The U.S. Congress's approval rating increased by only 14% on December 19, 2001 (59%) comparing this to the position it held on September 9, 2001 (45%) (Poll, 2001). However, even more telling, Congress's approval rating had only increased by 1% from its previous high (during the presidency of Bush) of 58%, which it enjoyed on April 22, 2001 (Polling Report, 2011). The conclusion drawn from these contradictions is that the American public were looking to one person, President Bush, Commander in Chief, to lead them through the fear and anguish that they were experiencing after the 9/11 atrocities. These statistics indicate that Bush in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 answered the needs of the American public, and

¹⁴⁸ Poll (2001) 'Presidential Approval Rating' *Washington Post-ABC News Poll* – conducted by telephone among 1001 randomly selected adults nationwide. Margin of sampling error is + or – 3% points, accessed via http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/polls/postpoll_alito_010906.htm [accessed 12 January 2006].

conceivably that was because he used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) through religious myths.

There is further evidence to corroborate the authority that Bush enjoyed during this period, namely the lack of in-depth questioning and investigative journalism that took place regarding the attacks of September 11, 2001 atrocities and the government's response to the attacks. Griffin (2003) highlights the fear amongst journalists after 9/11, who were concerned that probing into the attacks or response of 9/11 would be tantamount to anti-Americanism. Griffin quotes, Dan Rather a veteran CBS presenter on the subject:

There was a time in South Africa that people would put flaming tires around people's necks if they dissented. And in some ways the fear is that you will be necklaced here, you will have a flaming tire of lack of patriotism put around your neck. Now it is that fear that keeps journalists from asking the toughest of the tough questions (Rather cited in Griffin, 2003: XIV).

Dan Rather's observation was not unique; a CNN International Executive Vice President, Rena Golden stated:

Anyone who claims the US media didn't censor itself ... is kidding you. And this isn't just a CNN issue – every journalist who

was in any way involved in 9/11 is partly responsible (Golden cited in Griffin, 2003: XIV).

These statements are examples of just how influential the first few addresses Bush delivered in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 for framing an understanding by the American public (including investigative journalists) regarding *why* the attacks occurred and *how* they needed to respond as patriotic Americans. After the trauma of 9/11 journalists had to struggle with the choice between being seen to be patriotic and fulfilling their role as investigative journalists.

This thesis is not suggesting that Bush's 'Awful Oval Address' was a 'good' speech, indeed that was not critical because the myths, at an individual level, would have spoken to the American public's 'innermost being and reality' (Campbell, 1988: 5). At a sociological level the myths were speaking to Americans in language that told them how they needed to react as patriotic Americans. Campbell (1988) indicates that the value of using myths for such purposes resides in the belief that the myths while religious in nature are not based on the god of the Bible. The god that is being referred to is the god of reason. Therefore religious myths being used by Bush after 9/11 have the capacity to open the minds of the American people about the reason for the attacks. Rudalevige (2010) and other academics appear to focus on Bush's declaration of clear policy decisions after the 9/11 crisis. The contention of this thesis is that prior to those decisions being made the President of the United States used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) within religious myths to enable the American public to understand the *why* and *how* exposition. Bush was able to

reinforce his address with the 'rhetoric of otherness' (1973) because 9/11, the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) created a situation with total incredulity, demonic dread and miraculous wonderment. If 9/11 had not fulfilled that criteria the 'rhetoric of otherness' would not have proved influential. It would be the foreign policy initiative, defined as the 'War on Terrorism', carried out both domestically and internationally, that would come to signify Bush's programme for conquering 'evil' and all those associated with such evil.

CONCLUSION:

The atrocities of September 11, 2001 and the way in which those atrocities were captured and broadcast by the media created a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968). The presidential rhetoric Bush delivered in answering the demands of that situation enabled him to gain authority and approval from the American people, thus legitimizing his presidency. Nevertheless, that presidential rhetoric was not blithely turned out 'Rose Garden rubbish', it was the 'troika' drafting and re-drafting the speech throughout an exceedingly stressful day. A day of iconic images: the twin towers transformed into a pile of rubble; the Pentagon, representing America's global military superiority, with a gaping cavity; a passenger airliner smashed in a thirty foot crater; and, most importantly thousands of lives lost and the American public terrified. For such an extraordinary day the American public required someone to give them reassurance. Consequently, the presidential rhetoric that evening began with the scene set from the minute the helicopter landed on the South lawn. The speech could have been delivered immediately Bush stepped off the helicopter, but it

was not. The argument proposed is that by first witnessing the landing and then using the room of the Oval Office for the speech there was added gravitas and influence through the traditions and institution of the rhetorical presidency. The address, presented from the Oval Office was crucial and at such a moment Bush relied on his close advisor Karen Hughes to edit the work of the 'troika' ensuring the presidential rhetoric suited his style and concerns, and communicated his thoughts. Indeed, within two days the opinion polls showed that 86% of Americans approved of Bush's performance as President. The speech on those grounds was a success.

September 11, 2001 was not the first, and most definitely would not be the last time Bush invoked American myths to reinforce the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973). However, it was the initial framing of the boundaries within which the American people gained a knowledge of *why* the attacks happened and *how* they, as patriotic Americans, needed to react. Perhaps most importantly, the atrocities of September 11, 2001 conferred upon Bush the authority to define the discourse through which that historical era would come to be understood.

CHAPTER NINE

PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC

&

CONSTRUCTIONS OF OTHERNESS

INTRODUCTION:



Figure 9 9/11 Attack¹⁴⁹

The images of September 11, 2001 remain etched in the memories of all who witnessed the atrocities live on television and the Internet. It was a seminal moment in American history and the attacks created a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) that fulfilled the essential criteria in which Otto's (1973) landmark concept of the 'rhetoric of otherness' possessed particular sway. Bush working closely with his speechwriters, presented speeches, addresses, remarks and statements that met the demands of the situation. He used American myths to define *why* the attacks occurred and *how* the American public needed to respond. This conclusion

¹⁴⁹ Photo Online:

<http://www.google.co.uk/search?q=photo+of+world+trade+center+collapse&hl=en&prmd=imvns&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=rNhhT6OHOM-i8gPLquGGCA&ved=0CDEQsAQ&biw=1240&bih=595> [accessed 12 March 2012].

highlights the similarities and the differences which this thesis has revealed concerning the way in which American myths have been implemented within presidential rhetoric after unique attacks upon America.

The conclusion begins with a Table illustrating the themes of the thesis. The table headings will be explained followed by detailed comparative analyses of the way in which Bush used presidential rhetoric after 9/11 and the way in which selected previous Presidents did so after unique attacks. The summation of these themes enables a synthesis of the proposition and conclusions from this thesis and its value within the field of *presidential rhetoric*.

President	Media age	Location of Address	Rhetorical situation	President's personality	Religious Affiliation	Speechwriter's Influence	Rhetoric of Otherness	American Myths
Wilson	Print only, there were few photographs and coverage of the attack varied around the country. Postman (1999) comments on linear logical understanding in print.	Philadelphia, where Declaration of Independence and US Constitution signed by Founding Fathers.	Sinking of <i>RMS Lusitania</i> , not all of the American public were aware of the sinking.	Willing to listen to public opinion. E.g. Mexican affair.	Presbyterian, father Minister and theologian upbringing steeped in religion and he remained religious	None, for the Naturalization Ceremony	Otto's criteria not fulfilled. Used as of form of <i>differance</i> and <i>hospitality</i> rather than otherness as binary opposite. <i>How</i> to be good Americans	Flagrant use of myths in almost Preacher/pulpit scenario. Puritanical in Adamic rebirth, - <i>how</i> Nature's Nation, Chosen People.
Roosevelt	Radio and Print. Radio programmes interrupted to report bombing of P.H. Public awaited FDR 'Day of Infamy' speech for full report on scale and severity of attack. Estes (1992) comments on importance of hearing stories or myths enabling the spirit of the narrative to be understood.	Roosevelt, Executive Branch delivered his speeches to the US Congress the Legislative Branch of the United States Government.	Pearl Harbor, similar number of casualties as WTC, but military base. War raging prior two years.	Accepting of different advice. Recognized different people's expertise re: opinion making.	Protestant Episcopal Church, repealed 18th Amendment. New Deal, Moral justice in Practice.	Close advisors very significant influence. However, FDR always final arbiter and happily played one off the other to achieve his desired result.	Otto's criteria fulfilled, but other circumstances confuse the way it was used. FDR used otherness in description of Japan, but not as comparison to Evil/Satan, which was reserved for Hitler/Gemany.	Innocent Nation continually used in context to Pearl Harbor <i>why</i> . Chosen Nation and Natures Nation <i>why</i> and <i>how</i> with respect to going into European War.
Carter	Print/Radio/Television. Television played huge role in plight of hostages. Coverage made America / government look ineffective, held hostage. Personalized by continually showing family members, interviews, daily hostage plight. Imagery and sound of interviews influence experience of public (Campbell, 1988).	Briefing Room and East Room of the White House respectively	American Embassy in Iran, employees taken hostage. All of America held hostage.	President had great foresight but not always good at taking lead better as mediator.	A Southerner, a born- again Christian, a Baptist, every decision driven by faith.	Speechwriters wrote for oratory purpose, Carter engineer and more a point of information. No thought, of audience.	Not used until News Conference 24 days later. Originally not used because only met criteria once 13 hostages released.	Initially Innocent Nation (test, self-sacrifice of Americans) – <i>how</i> needed to respond. After 13 hostages Innocent Nation – <i>why</i> occurred and Chosen Nation (other, Evil).

Bush	Print/Radio/Television/Internet instantaneous news and live coverage of attacks. The public experience the attack personally and traumatic experience creates need for rhetoric to speak to spirit, not necessarily logical thinking. (Paglia, 1999)	National Cathedral, 'Ground Zero', Oval Office, Statement to Congress, and State of Union to Congress.	9/11 Passenger airliners used to attack World Trade Center, Pentagon, Pennsylvania attack.	Willingness to work closely with trusted advisors. Decisive without full information, and gained loyalty from staff.	A born again Christian associated change in successes driven by allowing God into his life. Attendance at Morning Prayer expected	Appreciated the partnership of speechwriters and value added regarding getting message across.	From the outset, Otherness used as binary opposite. Bin Laden equalled Evil or Satan. Used to explain <i>why</i> attacks happened and <i>how</i> patriotic Americans respond.	Innocent Nation, Chosen People. Upon policy announcement Chosen Nation. Used throughout to answer <i>why</i> and <i>how</i> questions.
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Table 2 Themes from Presidential Rhetoric

THEMES IN PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC:

The table illustrates at a glance the similarities and differences between the unique attack each President faced, and by so doing it highlights the significance of several features. The table delineates the available media and its role in disseminating information about the individual attacks, which played a role in the perception of the rhetorical event by the American public. It reveals each President's personality not in a psychological characterization of personality traits, but rather as a means for understanding his motivations after an event and his willingness to work with or accept suggestions from speechwriters. The result has been to discern the way in which individual Presidents incorporated a close working relationship with their speechwriters to facilitate a meaningful address. A meaningful address in this thesis has been scrutinized within the critical analysis of an individual address or statement and its ability to satisfy the demands of the situation within an understanding of the President's requirements.

The table illustrates the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), and indicates how the public experienced that situation had a direct relationship to the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) having the capability to create an impact. The way in which each President employed the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) and particularly their ability to incorporate it through the use of religious myths reveals an insight into their use of language. The table highlights the different American myths, and the way in which they were utilized within these speeches to promote the *why* and *how* exposition. The table illustrates the critical analysis which revealed that the

rhetorical nature of the presidency was reinforced by the location of the address. For example, Bush at 'Ground Zero' just hours after delivering a sermon from the National Cathedral enabled his few words to signify the martyrdom of the fallen and the consecration of the site. Finally, the location and the way each President chose to utilize American myths in their language often reflected their personal religious background, therefore this is also delineated within the table.

The purpose of the table then is twofold, acting firstly as a reminder of all the distinct historical and specific contextual circumstances, surrounding the way language was incorporated to answer the demands of the particular situations, and the influence of the President's personality and religious background in constructing such language. Secondly, the table highlights the value in appreciating that to analyse critically presidential rhetoric the entire jigsaw around any individual address needs to be pieced together to gain an understanding of *why* that language was chosen and *how* it was meant to be understood. In producing this table it enables the pieces of the jigsaw to be viewed on mass and allow a comparison to be drawn from the themes it reveals.

RHETORICAL COMPARISON:

Media Technology

The role of the media in broadcasting the attacks of September 11, 2001 was phenomenal, possessing the ability to create a traumatic experience for everyone witnessing the attacks. However, the media technology has not always had the capability to transmit immediate communications across the nation and indicates the significance of understanding the cultural era of any given rhetorical event. For example the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* in 1915 occurred in an era in which local and regional newspapers communicated the world's news. Pearl Harbor, on the other hand was reported interrupting normal radio programmes thus enabling the rich and the poor, the metropolitan and the rural communities, to hear the news in unison. However despite that, the country relied on the President's address the following day to update them on the latest attacks, and it was not until the subsequent days and weeks that the images arrived in the newspapers.

It was not until 1979 during Carter's presidency that media broadcasting played an influential role in defining the experience of the Iranian hostage siege for the American public. Furthermore, it would not be until the attacks of September 11, 2001 that this was once again so important for the way in which the public experienced the event.

The lack of media broadcasting and the American newspaper industry's local and regional focus played a significant role during Wilson's tenure. Wilson after the sinking of *RMS Lusitania* had the luxury of deciding whether he would choose to speak on the topic at all. Nevertheless, Wilson was also faced with the challenge of the American demographics in which 14% of the population were foreign born and nearly a third was first or second generation immigrants (US Census, 1910).

Understandably, Wilson's (1915) first priority was to maintain domestic consensus and his address to the 'Naturalization Ceremony' was indicative of that ambition. The rhetorical event created a situation in which constructions of otherness were used for the purpose of defining *how* immigrants needed to behave as 'good' Americans, but it was their domestic behaviour to which Wilson (1915) referred. The language he used could be aligned to that of a preacher it was replete with religious metaphor within connotations of Adamic rebirth, and Nature's Nation. These myths were utilized in a manner which suggested that the immigrants had the opportunity to create a new life as patriotic Americans. In fact the only time Wilson made any reference to the German attack was in asserting his, and therefore America's, moral righteousness in choosing to refuse to fight. Wilson's oratorical training and religious upbringing was reflected in the language he adopted and the style and manner in which his address was delivered.

Context of Rhetorical Event

The media technological age was not the sole factor in gauging the significance of the rhetorical event in relationship to its impact on the American public. For

example, the attack on Pearl Harbor despite not having visual images the attack filled the American public with incredulity, terror and miraculous wonderment (that anyone survived). The unique rhetorical situations all occurred within specific historical eras and that remains consequential in understanding why they do or do not meet the criteria necessary for binary constructions of otherness to hold sway. For example, the fact that World War II was raging in Europe and Southeast Asia and the American public were warned of possible attack did not lessen the impact of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The American public, Internationalists and particularly Isolationists were incredulous at the vulnerability of American warships and US Air Force contingencies based at Pearl Harbor and the effectiveness of the Japanese offensive in decimating the American fleet.

Roosevelt (1941b) utilized the demands from the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968), the attack on Pearl Harbor, to represent Japan as 'that Nation' rather than as a binary characterization of the 'Other'. This was achieved using the myths of an Innocent Nation and Christian Nation during his initial presidential rhetoric after the attacks to delineate *how* America needed to respond. Interestingly, Roosevelt (1941b) while obtaining suitable circumstances for invoking the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) decided not to implement such language in his 'Declaration of War with Japan' address, which reflected his personal considerations for meeting the demands of that situation. However, four weeks later during the 'State of the Union Address' Roosevelt (1942) chose to use such constructions of otherness (as a binary opposite), not so much to describe Japan, but primarily to describe Hitler and the German government.

Roosevelt's (1942) State of the Union Address vilified Hitler suggesting his 'unholy contempt for the human race', that the world was too small for 'Hitler and God', and many more examples as illustrated in Chapter Six. The relevance of Roosevelt's (1942) characterizations is that he used them to explain the *why* and *how* exposition. Roosevelt (1942) used religious metaphors to signify the myth of the Chosen Nation throughout the address often in combination with that of the Innocent Nation and the Myth of origin, and the value of such language is that it speaks directly to the essence of the being: 'so that the soul itself might hear guidance and gain knowledge' (Estes, 1992: 26). Roosevelt (1942) was expressing the knowledge of *how* America needed to respond to a domestic and an international audience for America's entry into the war raging in Europe. Indeed, Roosevelt (1942) went so far as to suggest that until Germany was defeated, the war with Japan was of secondary importance, which may have been difficult for the American public considering Japan's role in attacking Pearl Harbor. It is contended that Roosevelt (1942) utilized his presidential rhetoric in this way to meet the various demands of the situation, but in a way which also reflected his personal convictions.

Carter by comparison had different challenges with the American Embassy hostage siege in Iran. He was faced with a 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968) which was not appropriate for utilizing the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) in the immediate aftermath of the siege, but at that point was required to assert that the American public needed to conserve energy and reduce oil consumption, which was associated with a period of weakness and vulnerability. Images televised daily of the

hostage plight reinforced the concept of American vulnerability, while at the same time demonstrating the ineffectiveness of the Carter administration on the world stage. The inadequacy of the government however, was further exacerbated as a product of the historical era in which the hostage siege occurred. It followed a decade of poor government imagery: it was in the wake of the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, the first oil crisis, and an American recession. It is little wonder then that Carter endeavoured to characterize the situation as a 'test'. What was most telling about the analysis of Carter's speech was that despite the difficulties of the media imagery and the political circumstances of the era, once the situation satisfied the criteria for the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) his performance was transformed.

This was achieved after Carter (1979b) invoked the myth of the Innocent Nation through continual overt references to religious metaphors. After some American hostages were released, Carter (1979b) held a News Conference from the East Room of the White House. During the Conference his language was used to 'Other' Khomeini and the Iranian student 'terrorists', from their religion ('[there is] no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones kidnapping') and at the same time convey an image of them as 'evil' ('inhumane [treatment]'). Carter's (1979b) Conference was filled with notions of 'abuse' which had the dual capacity of alluding to American innocence and equally 'evil' Iranian behaviour. In an attempt to re-emphasize the point of America's innocence and its moral principles after referring to the 'abusive' behaviour several more times Carter (1979b) subsequently spoke about America's 'life', 'hono[u]r' and 'freedom', American ideals and signifiers of America being a Chosen Nation.

The overriding similarity apparent when analysing Carter's (1979b) News Conference and Bush's (2001f, 2001l, 2001r, 2001t) post 9/11 rhetoric, was that they both used a profuse amount of religious myths in representing the 'Other', in emphasizing their innocence, and in designating *why* their respective attacks occurred. At the same time, while they both utilized religious myths to designate *how* the American public needed to respond that is where the similarities cease. Carter (1979a, 1979b) invoked the concept of America as the Christian Nation asserting the need for 'constraint' and 'restraint' (conserving energy) to ensure that America maintained its 'freedom'. Equally, Carter's (1979b) use of such myths perpetuated the notion that *how* Americans needed to respond, was to accept the Iranian hostage siege as a 'test', remain steadfast rather than retaliate against Iran¹⁵⁰.

Nature of Trauma

Arguably without the continual media coverage, the Iran hostage siege would not have had any significant impact on the American public. The influence of television during the Iran hostage siege was that the daily broadcasts contributed to the entire nation feeling 'held hostage' rather than just the people actually suffering that plight in Iran. Similarly, on the morning of September 11, 2001 broadcasting live

¹⁵⁰ This analysis is concerned with Carter's early rhetoric during the Iranian hostage siege, it does not examine his rhetoric after the unsuccessful hostage rescue attempt.

transmissions of American iconic buildings being attacked, which created a situation in which a nation was traumatized and the international audience was incredulous.

The beginning of the twenty-first century was a generation on from the Cold War, at a time in which constructs of the 'Other' were more likely to originate from internal threats as witnessed by the Waco siege and the Oklahoma Bombing. The attacks left the American public in a state of shock and disbelief, terrorized and traumatized, and equally in sheer wonderment that anyone survived the atrocities. The 9/11 atrocities created rhetorical demands for Bush to convey reassurance and solace in the first instance, followed by policy initiatives. Nevertheless, throughout the entire process Bush answered the exigencies by working closely with his advisors and speechwriters in presenting presidential rhetoric which conveyed Bush's personal beliefs and concerns.

Bush's (2001c) rhetoric in the aftermath of 9/11 was the most categorical of all the Presidents examined (after an attack) in defining the perpetrators of the attack as 'evil' and 'inhuman'. Bush in his post 9/11 rhetoric invoked religious myths in his presentation and delivery of addresses, speeches and statements. On the evening of 9/11 the 'Awful Oval Address' was delivered from the most rhetorically symbolic location possible, which is filled with mythical signifiers from its tradition to the décor, flag and presidential arms (seals). Campbell (1988) and Paglia (1999) corroborate the notion that imagery and images create meaning at various levels of understanding and in this respect the media facilitated both in creating the experience of the event and the experience of the presidential rhetoric. Bush (2001c,

2001f, 2001g, 2001l, 2001r, 2001t, 2002) utilized religious metaphors and analogies through images, imagery and language to signify religious myths.

Bush (2001c) during his 'Awful Oval Address' invoked the myths of the Innocent Nation and more frequently the myth of the Chosen Nation for the purpose of explaining the *why* and *how* exposition. Bush (2001c) understood the nation was traumatized and expressed the need to use language that would reassure the American public. The religious myths Bush (2001c) used were myths that originate from America's Founding Fathers and are intrinsically connected to American religious identity. Campbell (1988) suggests myths have the capacity to deliver meaning to the experience and arguably this is what Bush (2001c) was endeavouring to do, to comfort the American public within a language that created an understanding despite their state of shock. Bush (2001c, 2001f, 2001g, 2001l, 2001r, 2001t, 2002) continued to utilize the myths of the Chosen Nation and the Innocent Nation when explaining to the American public about *why* the atrocities of 9/11 occurred, and generally it was the myth of the Chosen Nation which was called upon for justifying *how* the American public needed to respond. This explains the general themes derived from the critical analysis undertaken throughout this research, what remains necessary is to examine whether the findings justify the original proposition of this thesis. The conclusion of this thesis will examine the original proposition and the merits of this critical analysis.

THESIS

CONCLUSION

OVERVIEW:

The proposition of this thesis has been that after 9/11, Bush used constructions of otherness through American religious myths to define the boundaries for understanding *why* the attacks happened and *how* 'good' Americans needed to respond. The critical analysis of Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric has revealed that Bush met the demands of the rhetorical situations by using myths and metaphors that enabled the American public to understand their experience. The thesis then followed this with an examination of previous presidential rhetoric and the purpose for which American myths were incorporated into their rhetoric. The result has illustrated the way Bush used the myths of the Innocent Nation, the Chosen People or the Chosen Nation to impart knowledge regarding the *why* and *how* exposition and the determining factors for previous Presidents using their rhetoric in the same way. A major factor in the public experiencing the different attacks and the subsequent rhetoric has been the media technology of the time.

The role of the media has been instrumental across the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. The evidence lies within this thesis that the changing nature of the media transformed the demands of the rhetorical situation. Wilson during the era of print media had the luxury of ignoring the rhetorical event and thus not engaging with the demands of the situation with his presidential rhetoric. The public that knew about the fate of *RMS Lusitania* was required to gain a reasoned assessment by reading Wilson's response to the German government in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

Three decades later, radio broadcast the plight of Pearl Harbor to the nation, the American public were informed of the attacks in unison. Nevertheless, the nation did not receive the entire picture regarding the images and extent of the attack.

Roosevelt was required to delineate *what* occurred during the event and he waited until the following day before updating Congress and the American public about the scale of attacks upon various American military installations.

Television and media technology began to play a greater role in defining the rhetorical event for the American public. Carter and Bush were constrained by media coverage disseminating a minute by minute account of their situations:

*The reality that lives on, it's the reality etched
in the memories of the millions who watched
rather than the few who were actually there
(Lang and Lang, 1984: 213).*

Thus, while the role of the media has not been the only factor that required consideration when examining the impact of a rhetorical situation, the influence of modern media technology has played a critical role in enabling the public to experience the situation on an individual level as personal trauma, and socially as an attack upon American identity. The critical analysis examining the presidential rhetoric in the aftermath of unique attacks upon America revealed that the way in which Bush used the 'rhetoric of otherness' (Otto, 1973) to harness American religious identity for designating the required behaviour of patriotic Americans.

Presidential Rhetoric:

The rhetorical nature of the presidency has been emphasized by the media age of the attacks. Roosevelt's presidential rhetoric, delivered with a deep and decisive tone inspired confidence and reassurance of his authority and ability to lead the country through difficult times. Indeed, it is possible that Roosevelt's success was a product of the available media technology (radio) and the social and cultural era in which social concerns were more significant than celebrity interest.

The unique attack of the Iranian hostage siege presented an entirely different set of challenges for Carter (1979a). Arguably he delivered the 'Oil Imports From Iran Remarks' from the Briefing Room at the White House to signify 'business as usual'. In this situation it was a matter of playing down the rhetorical nature of the presidency as a speech from the Oval Office would have constructed an image of the Presidency itself being held hostage. These examples highlight the complicated nature of analysing presidential rhetoric and the need to recognize that there is far more than merely the language delivered that creates meaning for the various audiences of the rhetoric.

Thesis Value:

*The moment create[d] by the events ... is a powerful
invitation to presidential response because the
calamitous deaths threaten our sense of ourselves*

*as a nation, and that threat is heightened because
the public experiences it collectively. ... in the
national eulogy the president assumes the right to
define for the country the meaning of the catastrophe
and to assuage the associated trauma
(Campbell and Jamieson, 2008: 76-77).*

This thesis has used the rhetorical critic approach to provide a sophisticated interpretation of Bush's presidential rhetoric in the aftermath of 9/11. This was accomplished by considering the rhetorical event (9/11) and the influence of the media in transmitting the event to a worldwide audience which enabled them to experience the traumatic nature of the event. The research considered the demands from the event and the way in which Bush worked closely with his advisors and speechwriters in achieving presidential rhetoric that met his concerns and suited his personal delivery. The importance of understanding presidential rhetoric as the total performance was illustrated initially with Bush at 'Ground Zero' a few hours after delivering a sermon from the National Cathedral. The symbolic nature of Bush (2001g) surrounded by 'American heroes' at the 'battlefield' chanting 'U.S.A., U.S.A.' created both an image of a 'pep rally' and one in which Bush was consecrating or declaring 'Ground Zero' hallowed ground.

This thesis has analysed the way American religious myths were incorporated within presidential rhetoric after unique attacks and it has revealed that Bush used them successfully in the aftermath of 9/11, to speak to the experience that the American people had endured. Bush used the American myths to delineate the boundaries

within which the knowledge of *why* the attacks occurred and *how* the American public were expected to respond was constructed. This unique analysis of Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric furnishes an understanding of the way in which he used American myths and the various levels of meaning available to the American public and the wider audience given the social and cultural period in which the rhetoric transpired.

Campbell and Jamieson (2008) and Rudalevige (2010) examining Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric overlook the significance of Bush's 'Awful Oval Address' (2001c) for answering this need. Campbell and Jamieson (2008) argue that it is not until the three days later at the National Cathedral that Bush successfully adopts the role of 'priest' and within that role declares war on 'evil' and assuages the public fear. Rudalevige (2010) on the other hand, contends that it is not until the September 20 that Bush (2001I) articulates policy intentions, and more importantly that Bush's rhetoric in the intervening period was 'meandering bellicosity'. These academics have characterized Bush's post 9/11 rhetoric but without acknowledging how the rhetoric was used to meet the demands from the 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer, 1968).

This thesis, contrary to these academics, emphasizes the importance of explaining what type of language (American myths) and how it is used (within constructions of otherness) and how it achieves reassurance (by answering the *why* and *how* exposition in a language that speaks to the experience). The argument that Washington insiders and academics alike consider Bush's (2001c) address to have been a poor speech is inconsequential it may well have been an – 'Awful Oval Address'. The significance of that address lies in the fact that the American public

obviously considered it had meaning for them, as Bush's performance ratings surged to 86% on September 13, a day before his National Cathedral sermon and seven days before his Address to Congress.

Therefore, this thesis adds new insights and advances knowledge within the field of *presidential rhetoric* by the comprehensive quality of the analysis examining Bush's post 9/11 rhetorical performances, the complex deconstruction of the speeches, and an evident regard for the social, cultural and historical era in which the rhetoric was delivered. This research has revealed a better understanding of an event, and the deeper trends and transformations within American society available by analysing the words in response to that event. Moreover, the comparative analysis of previous attacks and the correlating presidential reactions have served not only to widen the discussion but also to bring into sharper focus the nature and requirements of Bush's response. This thesis may be evidence that Mario Cuomo was correct:

You campaign in poetry.

You govern in prose.

(Mario Cuomo, 1977¹⁵¹)

¹⁵¹ See: White, John Kenneth (1994: 16) 'Political Conflicts in New York State' In: Stonecash, Jeffrey M., White, John Kenneth, and Colby, Peter W. (eds.) *Governing New York State*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.0 (INTRODUCTION):

‘Ground Zero’

• George W. Bush

Remarks to Police, Firemen, and Rescueworkers at the World Trade Center Site in New York City

September 14, 2001

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. Thank you all. I want you all to know——

Audience member. Can't hear you.

The President. I can't go any louder. [*Laughter*]

I want you all to know that America today—America today is on bended knee in prayer for the people whose lives were lost here, for the workers who work here, for the families who mourn. This Nation stands with the good people of New York City and New Jersey and Connecticut as we mourn the loss of thousands of our citizens.

Audience member. I can't hear you.

The President. I can hear you. I can hear you. The rest of the world hears you. And the people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. The Nation sends its love and compassion to everybody who is here. Thank you for your hard work. Thank you for making the Nation proud. And may God bless America.

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

APPENDIX 1.1 (CHAPTER FIVE):

‘Wilson Philadelphia Naturalization Ceremony’

• Woodrow Wilson

Address to Naturalized Citizens at Convention Hall, Philadelphia

May 10, 1915

Mr. Mayor, Fellow-Citizens:

It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception; but it is not of myself that I wish to think to-night, but of those who have just become citizens of the United States.

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that every where in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin—these things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts—but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go. You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow-men. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but an historical accident no doubt that this great country was called the "United States"; yet I am very thankful that it has that word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest in this great Union is striking at its very heart.

It is a very interesting circumstance to me, in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great Government, that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life. No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us. Some of us are very disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose as it does every where else in the world. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand. But remember this: If we had grown at all poor in the ideal, you brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief. That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome. If I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me. I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are.

See, my friends, what that means. It means that Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

You have come into this great Nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We cannot exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere; we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry. We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

When I was asked, therefore, by the Mayor and the committee that accompanied him to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens, I could not decline the invitation. I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American to be here. In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been fellow-citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountains with them and go back feeling what you have so generously given me—the sense of your support and of the living vitality in your hearts of the great ideals which have made America the hope of the world.

APPENDIX 1.2 (CHAPTER SIX):

‘Day of Infamy’

- Franklin D. Roosevelt

Address to Congress Requesting a Declaration of War with Japan

December 8, 1941

Mr. Vice President, and Mr. Speaker, and Members of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that Nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American Island of Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island. And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our Nation.

As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

But always will our whole Nation remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory. I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory, and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces -- with the unbounding determination of our people -- we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

APPENDIX 1.3 (CHAPTER SIX):

We Shall Overcome – lyrics-

by: Charles Tindley

This world is one great battlefield
With forces all arrayed,
If in my heart I do not yield

I'll overcome some day.
 I'll overcome some day,
 I'll overcome some day,
 If in my heart I do not yield,
 I'll overcome some day.

Both seen and unseen powers join
 To drive my soul astray,
 But with His Word a sword of mine,
 I'll overcome some day.
 I'll overcome some day,
 I'll overcome some day,
 But with His Word a sword of mine,
 I'll overcome some day.

A thousand snares are set for me,
 And mountains in my way,
 If Jesus will my leader be,
 I'll overcome some day.
 I'll overcome some day,
 I'll overcome some day,
 If Jesus will my leader be,
 I'll overcome some day.

I fail so often when I try
 My Savior to obey;
 It pains my heart and then I cry,
 Lord, make me strong some day.
 Lord, make me strong some day,
 Lord, make me strong some day;
 It pains my heart and then I cry,
 Lord, make me strong some day.

My mind is not to do the wrong,
 But walk the narrow way;
 I'm praying as I journey on,
 To overcome some day.
 To overcome some day,
 To overcome some day;
 I'm praying as I journey on,
 To overcome some day.

Though many a time no signs appear,
 Of answer when I pray;
 My Jesus says I need not fear,
 He'll make it plain some day.
 I'll be like Him some day,
 I'll be like Him some day;
 My Jesus says I need not fear,
 He'll make it plain some day.

Rev. Charles Tindley (1901) Online: <http://www.cyberhymnal.org/htm/i/i/illoverc.htm> [accessed 15 January 2010].

APPENDIX 1.4 (CHAPTER SIX):

The Battle Hymn of the Republic

By: Julia Ward Howe

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword:
His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps,
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat:
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me:
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/unbound/flashbks/battlehymn.htm> [accessed 07 July 2011]

Original showing the Journal publication:

<http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/unbound/flashbks/battlehymn-original.htm> [accessed 15 June 2010]

APPENDIX 1.5(CHAPTER SIX):

‘1941 State of the Union Address’

• Franklin D. Roosevelt

Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union

January 6, 1941

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented," because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. Fortunately, only one of these—the four-year War Between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained clear, definite opposition, to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of

expression, or freedom of religion -or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are softhearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellowmen within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end. Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases—and I am sorry to say very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results. To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual material begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need manpower, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all their material would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators, if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands. Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of Government to save Government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:
 Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.
 Jobs for those who can work.
 Security for those who need it.
 The ending of special privilege for the few.
 The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.
 As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose. To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

APPENDIX 1.6 (CHAPTER SIX):

‘Fireside Chat December 1940’

- Franklin D. Roosevelt

Fireside Chat.

December 29, 1940

My friends:

This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence and all the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function.

I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories; the girl behind the counter; the small shopkeeper; the farmer doing his spring plowing; the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings.

I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America. We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism.

We face this new crisis—this new threat to the security of our nation—with the same courage and realism.

Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now.

For, on September 27, 1940, by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States of America interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations—a program aimed at world control—they would unite in ultimate action against the United States.

The Nazi masters of Germany have made it clear that they intend not only to dominate all life and thought in their own country, but also to enslave the whole of Europe, and then to use the resources of Europe to dominate the rest of the world.

It was only three weeks ago their leader stated this: "There are two worlds that stand opposed to each other." And then in defiant reply to his opponents, he said this: "Others are correct when they say: With this world we cannot ever reconcile ourselves. . . . I can beat any other power in the world." So said the leader of the Nazis.

In other words, the Axis not merely admits but proclaims that there can be no ultimate peace between their philosophy of government and our philosophy of government.

In view of the nature of this undeniable threat, it can be asserted, properly and categorically, that the United States has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace, until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world.

At this moment, the forces of the states that are leagued against all peoples who live in freedom, are being held away from our shores. The Germans and the Italians are being blocked on the other side of the Atlantic by the British, and by the Greeks, and by thousands of soldiers and sailors who were able to escape from subjugated countries. In Asia, the Japanese are being engaged by the Chinese nation in another great defense. In the Pacific Ocean is our fleet.

Some of our people like to believe that wars in Europe and in Asia are of no concern to us. But it is a matter of most vital concern to us that European and Asiatic war-makers should not gain control of the oceans which lead to this hemisphere.

One hundred and seventeen years ago the Monroe Doctrine was conceived by our Government as a measure of defense in the face of a threat against this hemisphere by an alliance in Continental Europe. Thereafter, we stood on guard in the Atlantic, with the British as neighbors. There was no treaty. There was no "unwritten agreement."

And yet, there was the feeling, proven correct by history, that we as neighbors could settle any disputes in peaceful fashion. The fact is that during the whole of this time the Western Hemisphere has remained free from aggression from Europe or from Asia.

Does anyone seriously believe that we need to fear attack anywhere in the Americas while a free Britain remains our most powerful naval neighbor in the Atlantic? Does anyone seriously believe, on the other hand, that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbors there?

If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us, in all the Americas, would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.

We should enter upon a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our hemisphere included, would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world, we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of war economy.

Some of us like to believe that even if Great Britain falls, we are still safe, because of the broad expanse of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

But the width of those oceans is not what it was in the days of clipper ships. At one point between Africa and Brazil the distance is less than from Washington to Denver, Colorado five hours for the latest type of bomber. And at the North end of the Pacific Ocean America and Asia almost touch each other.

Even today we have planes that could fly from the British Isles to New England and back again without refueling. And remember that the range of the modern bomber is ever being increased.

During the past week many people in all parts of the nation have told me what they wanted me to say tonight. Almost all of them expressed a courageous desire to hear the plain truth about the gravity of the situation. One telegram, however, expressed the attitude of the small minority who want to see no evil and hear no evil, even though they know in their hearts that evil exists. That telegram begged me not to tell again of the ease with which our American cities could be bombed by any hostile power which had gained bases in this Western Hemisphere. The gist of that telegram was: "Please, Mr. President, don't frighten us by telling us the facts."

Frankly and definitely there is danger ahead—danger against which we must prepare. But we well know that we cannot escape danger, or the fear of danger, by crawling into bed and pulling the covers over our heads.

Some nations of Europe were bound by solemn non-intervention pacts with Germany. Other nations were assured by Germany that they need never fear invasion. Non-intervention pact or not, the fact remains that they were attacked, overrun and thrown into the modern form of slavery at an hour's notice, or even without any notice at all. As an exiled leader of one of these nations said to me the other day—"The notice was a minus quantity. It was given to my Government two hours after German troops had poured into my country in a hundred places."

The fate of these nations tells us what it means to live at the point of a Nazi gun.

The Nazis have justified such actions by various pious frauds. One of these frauds is the claim that they are occupying a nation for the purpose of "restoring order." Another is that they are occupying or controlling a nation on the excuse that they are "protecting it" against the aggression of somebody else.

For example, Germany has said that she was occupying Belgium to save the Belgians from the British. Would she then hesitate to say to any South American country, "We are occupying you to protect you from aggression by the United States"?

Belgium today is being used as an invasion base against Britain, now fighting for its life. Any South American country, in Nazi hands, would always constitute a jumping-off place for German attack on any one of the other Republics of this hemisphere.

Analyze for yourselves the future of two other places even nearer to Germany if the Nazis won. Could Ireland hold out? Would Irish freedom be permitted as an amazing pet exception in an unfree world? Or the Islands of the Azores which still fly the flag of Portugal after five centuries? You and I think of Hawaii as an outpost of defense in the Pacific. And yet, the Azores are closer to our shores in the Atlantic than Hawaii is on the other side.

There are those who say that the Axis powers would never have any desire to attack the Western Hemisphere. That is the same dangerous form of wishful thinking which has destroyed the powers of resistance of so many conquered peoples. The plain facts are that the Nazis have proclaimed, time and again, that all other races are their inferiors and therefore subject to their orders. And most important of all, the vast resources and wealth of this American Hemisphere constitute the most tempting loot in all the round world.

Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your Government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out.

Their secret emissaries are active in our own and in neighboring countries. They seek to stir up suspicion and dissension to cause internal strife. They try to turn capital against labor, and vice versa. They try to reawaken long slumbering racial and religious enmities which should have no place in this country. They are active in every group that promotes intolerance. They exploit for their own ends our natural abhorrence of war. These trouble-breeders have but one purpose. It is to divide our people into hostile groups and to destroy our unity and shatter our will to defend ourselves.

There are also American citizens, many of them in high places, who, unwittingly in most cases, are aiding and abetting the work of these agents. I do not charge these American citizens with being foreign agents. But I do charge them with doing exactly the kind of work that the dictators want done in the United States.

These people not only believe that we can save our own skins by shutting our eyes to the fate of other nations. Some of them go much further than that. They say that we can and should become the friends and even the partners of the Axis powers. Some of them even suggest that we should imitate the methods of the dictatorships. Americans never can and never will do that.

The experience of the past two years has proven beyond doubt that no nation can appease the Nazis. No man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. We know now that a nation can have peace with the Nazis only at the price of total surrender.

Even the people of Italy have been forced to become accomplices of the Nazis; but at this moment they do not know how soon they will be embraced to death by their allies.

The American appeasers ignore the warning to be found in the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and France. They tell you that the Axis powers are going to win any way; that all this bloodshed in the world could be saved; that the United States might just as well throw its influence into the scale of a dictated peace, and get the best out of it that we can.

They call it a "negotiated peace." Nonsense! Is it a negotiated peace if a gang of outlaws surrounds your community and on threat of extermination makes you pay tribute to save your own skins?

Such a dictated peace would be no peace at all. It would be only another armistice, leading to the most gigantic armament race and the most devastating trade wars in all history. And in these contests the Americas would offer the only real resistance to the Axis powers.

With all their vaunted efficiency, with all their parade of pious purpose in this war, there are still in their background the concentration camp and the servants of God in chains.

The history of recent years proves that shootings and chains and concentration camps are not simply the transient tools but the very altars of modern dictatorships. They may talk of a "new order" in the world, but what they have in mind is only a revival of the oldest and the worst tyranny. In that there is no liberty, no religion, no hope.

The proposed "new order" is the very opposite of a United States of Europe or a United States of Asia. It is not a Government based upon the consent of the governed. It is not a union of ordinary, self-respecting men and women to protect themselves and their freedom and their dignity from oppression. It is an unholy alliance of power and pelf to dominate and enslave the human race.

The British people and their allies today are conducting an active war against this unholy alliance. Our own future security is greatly dependent on the outcome of that fight. Our ability to "keep out of war" is going to be affected by that outcome.

Thinking in terms of today and tomorrow, I make the direct statement to the American people that there is far less chance of the United States getting into war, if we do all we can now to support the nations defending themselves against attack by the Axis than if we acquiesce in their defeat, submit tamely to an Axis victory, and wait our turn to be the object of attack in another war later on.

If we are to be completely honest with ourselves, we must admit that there is risk in any course we may take. But I deeply believe that the great majority of our people agree that the course that I advocate involves the least risk now and the greatest hope for world peace in the future.

The people of Europe who are defending themselves do not ask us to do their fighting. They ask us for the implements of war, the planes, the tanks, the guns, the freighters which will enable them to fight for their liberty and for our security. Emphatically we must get these weapons to them in sufficient volume and quickly enough, so that we and our children will be saved the agony and suffering of war which others have had to endure.

Let not the defeatists tell us that it is too late. It will never be earlier. Tomorrow will be later than today. Certain facts are self-evident.

In a military sense Great Britain and the British Empire are today the spearhead of resistance to world conquest. They are putting up a fight which will live forever in the story of human gallantry.

There is no demand for sending an American Expeditionary Force outside our own borders. There is no intention by any member of your Government to send such a force. You can, therefore, nail any talk about sending armies to Europe as deliberate untruth.

Our national policy is not directed toward war. Its sole purpose is to keep war away from our country and our people. Democracy's fight against world conquest is being greatly aided, and must be more greatly aided, by the rearmament of the United States and by sending every ounce and every ton of munitions and supplies that we can possibly spare to help the defenders who are in the front lines. It is no more unneutral for us to do that than it is for Sweden, Russia and other nations near Germany, to send steel and ore and oil and other war materials into Germany every day in the week.

We are planning our own defense with the utmost urgency; and in its vast scale we must integrate the war needs of Britain and the other free nations which are resisting aggression.

This is not a matter of sentiment or of controversial personal opinion. It is a matter of realistic, practical military policy, based on the advice of our military experts who are in closest touch with existing warfare. These military and naval experts and the members of the Congress and the Administration have a single-minded purpose—the defense of the United States.

This nation is making a great effort to produce everything that is necessary in this emergency—and with all possible speed. This great effort requires great sacrifice.

I would ask no one to defend a democracy which in turn would not defend everyone in the nation against want and privation. The strength of this nation shall not be diluted by the failure of the Government to protect the economic well-being of its citizens.

If our capacity to produce is limited by machines, it must ever be remembered that these machines are operated by the skill and the stamina of the workers. As the Government is determined to protect the rights of the workers, so the nation has a right to expect that the men who man the machines will discharge their full responsibilities to the urgent needs of defense.

The worker possesses the same human dignity and is entitled to the same security of position as the engineer or the manager or the owner. For the workers provide the human power that turns out the destroyers, the airplanes and the tanks.

The nation expects our defense industries to continue operation without interruption by strikes or lock-outs. It expects and insists that management and workers will reconcile their differences by voluntary or legal means, to continue to produce the supplies that are so sorely needed.

And on the economic side of our great defense program, we are, as you know, bending every effort to maintain stability of prices and with that the stability of the cost of living.

Nine days ago I announced the setting up of a more effective organization to direct our gigantic efforts to increase the production of munitions. The appropriation of vast sums of money and a well coordinated executive direction of our defense efforts are not in themselves enough. Guns, planes, ships and many other things have to be built in the factories and arsenals of America. They have to be produced by workers and managers and engineers with the aid of machines which in turn have to be built by hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the land.

In this great work there has been splendid cooperation between the Government and industry and labor, and I am very thankful.

American industrial genius, unmatched throughout the world in the solution of production problems, has been called upon to bring its resources and its talents into action. Manufacturers of watches, farm implements, linotypes, cash registers, automobiles, sewing machines, lawn mowers and locomotives are now making fuses, bomb packing crates, telescope mounts, shells, pistols and tanks.

But all our present efforts are not enough. We must have more ships, more guns, more planes—more of everything. This can only be accomplished if we discard the notion of "business as usual." This job cannot be done merely by superimposing on the existing productive facilities the added requirements of the nation for defense.

Our defense efforts must not be blocked by those who fear the future consequences of surplus plant capacity. The possible consequences of failure of our defense efforts now are much more to be feared.

After the present needs of our defenses are past, a proper handling of the country's peace-time needs will require all the new productive capacity—if not more.

No pessimistic policy about the future of America shall delay the immediate expansion of those industries essential to defense. We need them.

I want to make it clear that it is the purpose of the nation to build now with all possible speed every machine, every arsenal, every factory that we need to manufacture our defense material. We have the men—the skill—the wealth—and above all, the will.

I am confident that if and when production of consumer or luxury goods in certain industries requires the use of machines and raw materials that are essential for defense purposes, then such production must yield, and will gladly yield, to our primary and compelling purpose.

I appeal to the owners of plants—to the managers—to the workers—to our own Government employees—to put every ounce of effort into producing these munitions swiftly and without stint. With this appeal I give you the pledge that all of us who are officers of your Government will devote ourselves to the same whole-hearted extent to the great task that lies ahead.

As planes and ships and guns and shells are produced, your Government, with its defense experts, can then determine how best to use them to defend this hemisphere. The decision as to how much shall be sent abroad and how much shall remain at home must be made on the basis of our over-all military necessities.

We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war.

We have furnished the British great material support and we will furnish far more in the future.

There will be no "bottlenecks" in our determination to aid Great Britain. No dictator, no combination of dictators, will weaken that determination by threats of how they will construe that determination.

The British have received invaluable military support from the heroic Greek army, and from the forces of all the governments in exile. Their strength is growing. It is the strength of men and women who value their freedom more highly than they value their lives.

I believe that the Axis powers are not going to win this war. I base that belief on the latest and best information.

We have no excuse for defeatism. We have every good reason for hope—hope for peace, hope for the defense of our civilization and for the building of a better civilization in the future.

I have the profound conviction that the American people are now determined to put forth a mightier effort than they have ever yet made to increase our production of all the implements of defense, to meet the threat to our democratic faith.

As President of the United States I call for that national effort. I call for it in the name of this nation which we love and honor and which we are privileged and proud to serve. I call upon our people with absolute confidence that our common cause will greatly succeed.

APPENDIX 1.7 (CHAPTER SIX):

‘1942 State of the Union Address’

Franklin D. Roosevelt

State of the Union Address.

January 6, 1942

IN FULFILLING my duty to report upon the State of the Union, I am proud to say to you that the spirit of the American people was never higher than it is today—the Union was never more closely knit together—this country was never more deeply determined to face the solemn tasks before it.

The response of the American people has been instantaneous, and it will be sustained until our security is assured.

Exactly one year ago today I said to this Congress: "When the dictators . . . are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part . . . They—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack."

We now know their choice of the time: a peaceful Sunday morning—December 7, 1941.

We know their choice of the place: an American outpost in the Pacific.

We know their choice of the method: the method of Hitler himself.

Japan's scheme of conquest goes back half a century. It was not merely a policy of seeking living room: it was a plan which included the subjugation of all the peoples in the Far East and in the islands of the Pacific, and the domination of that ocean by Japanese military and naval control of the western coasts of North, Central, and South America.

The development of this ambitious conspiracy was marked by the war against China in 1894; the subsequent occupation of Korea; the war against Russia in 1904; the illegal fortification of the mandated Pacific islands following 1920; the seizure of Manchuria in 1931; and the invasion of China in 1937.

A similar policy of criminal conquest was adopted by Italy. The Fascists first revealed their imperial designs in Libya and Tripoli. In 1935 they seized Abyssinia. Their goal was the domination of all North Africa, Egypt, parts of France, and the entire Mediterranean world.

But the dreams of empire of the Japanese and Fascist leaders were modest in comparison with the gargantuan aspirations of Hitler and his Nazis. Even before they came to power in 1933, their plans for that conquest had been drawn. Those plans provided for ultimate domination, not of any one section of the world, but of the whole earth and all the oceans on it.

When Hitler organized his Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance, all these plans of conquest became a single plan. Under this, in addition to her own schemes of conquest, Japan's role was obviously to cut off our supply of weapons of war to Britain, and Russia and China—weapons which increasingly were speeding the day of Hitler's doom. The act of Japan at Pearl Harbor was intended to stun us—to terrify us to such an extent that we would divert our industrial and military strength to the Pacific area, or even to our own continental defense.

The plan has failed in its purpose. We have not been stunned. We have not been terrified or confused. This very reassembling of the Seventy-seventh Congress today is proof of that; for the mood of quiet, grim resolution which here prevails bodes ill for those who conspired and collaborated to murder world peace.

That mood is stronger than any mere desire for revenge. It expresses the will of the American people to make very certain that the world will never so suffer again.

Admittedly, we have been faced with hard choices. It was bitter, for example, not to be able to relieve the heroic and historic defenders of Wake Island. It was bitter for us not to be able to land a million men in a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands.

But this adds only to our determination to see to it that the Stars and Stripes will fly again over Wake and Guam. Yes, see to it that the brave people of the Philippines will be rid of Japanese imperialism; and will live in freedom, security, and independence.

Powerful and offensive actions must and will be taken in proper time. The consolidation of the United Nations' total war effort against our common enemies is being achieved.

That was and is the purpose of conferences which have been held during the past two weeks in Washington, and Moscow and Chungking. That is the primary objective of the declaration of solidarity signed in Washington on January 1, 1942, by 26 Nations united against the Axis powers.

Difficult choices may have to be made in the months to come. We do not shrink from such decisions. We and those united with us will make those

decisions with courage and determination.

Plans have been laid here and in the other capitals for coordinated and cooperative action by all the United Nations—military action and economic action. Already we have established, as you know, unified command of land, sea, and air forces in the southwestern Pacific theater of war. There will be a continuation of conferences and consultations among military staffs, so that the plans and operations of each will fit into the general strategy designed to crush the enemy. We shall not fight isolated wars—each Nation going its own way. These 26 Nations are united—not in spirit and determination alone, but in the broad conduct of the war in all its phases.

For the first time since the Japanese and the Fascists and the Nazis started along their blood-stained course of conquest they now face the fact that superior forces are assembling against them. Gone forever are the days when the aggressors could attack and destroy their victims one by one without unity of resistance. We of the United Nations will so dispose our forces that we can strike at the common enemy wherever the greatest damage can be done him.

The militarists of Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

Destruction of the material and spiritual centers of civilization—this has been and still is the purpose of Hitler and his Italian and Japanese chessmen. They would wreck the power of the British Commonwealth and Russia and China and the Netherlands—and then combine all their forces to achieve their ultimate goal, the conquest of the United States.

They know that victory for us means victory for freedom.

They know that victory for us means victory for the institution of democracy—the ideal of the family, the simple principles of common decency and humanity.

They know that victory for us means victory for religion. And they could not tolerate that. The world is too small to provide adequate "living room" for both Hitler and God. In proof of that, the Nazis have now announced their plan for enforcing their new German, pagan religion all over the world—a plan by which the Holy Bible and the Cross of Mercy would be displaced by Mein Kampf and the swastika and the naked sword.

Our own objectives are clear; the objective of smashing the militarism imposed by war lords upon their enslaved peoples the objective of liberating the subjugated Nations—the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear everywhere in the world.

We shall not stop short of these objectives—nor shall we be satisfied merely to gain them and then call it a day. I know that I speak for the American people—and I have good reason to believe that I speak also for all the other peoples who fight with us—when I say that this time we are determined not only to win the war, but also to maintain the security of the peace that will follow.

But we know that modern methods of warfare make it a task, not only of shooting and fighting, but an even more urgent one of working and producing.

Victory requires the actual weapons of war and the means of transporting them to a dozen points of combat.

It will not be sufficient for us and the other United Nations to produce a slightly superior supply of munitions to that of Germany, Japan, Italy, and the stolen industries in the countries which they have overrun.

The superiority of the United Nations in munitions and ships must be overwhelming—so overwhelming that the Axis Nations can never hope to catch up with it. And so, in order to attain this overwhelming superiority the United States must build planes and tanks and guns and ships to the utmost limit of our national capacity. We have the ability and capacity to produce arms not only for our own forces, but also for the armies, navies, and air forces fighting on our side.

And our overwhelming superiority of armament must be adequate to put weapons of war at the proper time into the hands of those men in the conquered Nations who stand ready to seize the first opportunity to revolt against their German and Japanese oppressors, and against the traitors in their own ranks, known by the already infamous name of "Quislings." And I think that it is a fair prophecy to say that, as we get guns to the patriots in those lands, they too will fire shots heard round the world.

This production of ours in the United States must be raised far above present levels, even though it will mean the dislocation of the lives and occupations of millions of our own people. We must raise our sights all along the production line. Let no man say it cannot be done. It must be done—and we have undertaken to do it.

I have just sent a letter of directive to the appropriate departments and agencies of our Government, ordering that immediate steps be taken:

First, to increase our production rate of airplanes so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 60,000 planes, 10,000 more than the goal that we set a year and a half ago. This includes 45,000 combat planes—bombers, dive bombers, pursuit planes. The rate of increase will be maintained and continued so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 125,000 airplanes, including 100,000 combat planes.

Second, to increase our production rate of tanks so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 45,000 tanks; and to continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 75,000 tanks.

Third, to increase our production rate of anti-aircraft guns so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall produce 20,000 of them; and to continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall produce 35,000 anti-aircraft guns.

And fourth, to increase our production rate of merchant ships so rapidly that in this year, 1942, we shall build 6,000,000 deadweight tons as compared with a 1941 completed production of 1,100,000. And finally, we shall continue that increase so that next year, 1943, we shall build 10,000,000 tons of shipping.

These figures and similar figures for a multitude of other implements of war will give the Japanese and the Nazis a little idea of just what they

accomplished in the attack at Pearl Harbor.

And I rather hope that all these figures which I have given will become common knowledge in Germany and Japan.

Our task is hard—our task is unprecedented—and the time is short. We must strain every existing armament-producing facility to the utmost. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. That goes all the way from the greatest plants to the smallest—from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shop.

Production for war is based on men and women—the human hands and brains which collectively we call Labor. Our workers stand ready to work long hours; to turn out more in a day's work; to keep the wheels turning and the fires burning twenty-four hours a day, and seven days a week. They realize well that on the speed and efficiency of their work depend the lives of their sons and their brothers on the fighting fronts.

Production for war is based on metals and raw materials—steel, copper, rubber, aluminum, zinc, tin. Greater and greater quantities of them will have to be diverted to war purposes. Civilian use of them will have to be cut further and still further—and, in many cases, completely eliminated.

War costs money. So far, we have hardly even begun to pay for it. We have devoted only 15 percent of our national income to national defense. As will appear in my Budget Message tomorrow, our war program for the coming fiscal year will cost 56 billion dollars or, in other words, more than half of the estimated annual national income. That means taxes and bonds and taxes. It means cutting luxuries and other non-essentials. In a word, it means an "all-out" war by individual effort and family effort in a united country.

Only this all-out scale of production will hasten the ultimate all-out victory. Speed will count. Lost ground can always be regained—lost time never. Speed will save lives; speed will save this Nation which is in peril; speed will save our freedom and our civilization—and slowness has never been an American characteristic.

As the United States goes into its full stride, we must always be on guard against misconceptions which will arise, some of them naturally, or which will be planted among us by our enemies.

We must guard against complacency. We must not underrate the enemy. He is powerful and cunning—and cruel and ruthless. He will stop at nothing that gives him a chance to kill and to destroy. He has trained his people to believe that their highest perfection is achieved by waging war. For many years he has prepared for this very conflict—planning, and plotting, and training, arming, and fighting. We have already tasted defeat. We may suffer further setbacks. We must face the fact of a hard war, a long war, a bloody war, a costly war.

We must, on the other hand, guard against defeatism. That has been one of the chief weapons of Hitler's propaganda machine—used time and again with deadly results. It will not be used successfully on the American people.

We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among all the other United Nations. We must be particularly vigilant against racial discrimination in any of its ugly forms. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one Government and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this with us even now. But he will find a unity of will and purpose against him, which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and safety of the people of the world.

We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy—we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him.

We must keep him far from our shores, for we intend to bring this battle to him on his own home grounds.

American armed forces must be used at any place in all the world where it seems advisable to engage the forces of the enemy. In some cases these operations will be defensive, in order to protect key positions. In other cases, these operations will be offensive, in order to strike at the common enemy, with a view to his complete encirclement and eventual total defeat.

American armed forces will operate at many points in the Far East.

American armed forces will be on all the oceans—helping to guard the essential communications which are vital to the United Nations.

American land and air and sea forces will take stations in the British Isles—which constitute an essential fortress in this great world struggle.

American armed forces will help to protect this hemisphere—and also help to protect bases outside this hemisphere, which could be used for an attack on the Americas.

If any of our enemies, from Europe or from Asia, attempt long-range raids by "suicide" squadrons of bombing planes, they will do so only in the hope of terrorizing our people and disrupting our morale. Our people are not afraid of that. We know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom. We will pay this price with a will. Whatever the price, it is a thousand times worth it. No matter what our enemies, in their desperation, may attempt to do to us—we will say, as the people of London have said, "We can take it." And what's more we can give it back and we will give it back—with compound interest.

When our enemies challenged our country to stand up and fight, they challenged each and every one of us. And each and every one of us has accepted the challenge—for himself and for his Nation.

There were only some 400 United States Marines who in the heroic and historic defense of Wake Island inflicted such great losses on the enemy. Some of those men were killed in action; and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, they will learn that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens have been inspired to render their own full share of service and sacrifice.

We can well say that our men on the fighting fronts have already proved that Americans today are just as rugged and just as tough as any of the heroes

whose exploits we celebrate on the Fourth of July.

Many people ask, "When will this war end?" There is only one answer to that. It will end just as soon as we make it end, by our combined efforts, our combined strength, our combined determination to fight through and work through until the end—the end of militarism in Germany and Italy and Japan. Most certainly we shall not settle for less.

That is the spirit in which discussions have been conducted during the visit of the British Prime Minister to Washington. Mr. Churchill and I understand each other, our motives and our purposes. Together, during the past two weeks, we have faced squarely the major military and economic problems of this greatest world war.

All in our Nation have been cheered by Mr. Churchill's visit. We have been deeply stirred by his great message to us. He is welcome in our midst, and we unite in wishing him a safe return to his home.

For we are fighting on the same side with the British people, who fought alone for long, terrible months, and withstood the enemy with fortitude and tenacity and skill.

We are fighting on the same side with the Russian people who have seen the Nazi hordes swarm up to the very gates of Moscow, and who with almost superhuman will and courage have forced the invaders back into retreat.

We are fighting on the same side as the brave people of China—those millions who for four and a half long years have withstood bombs and starvation and have whipped the invaders time and again in spite of the superior Japanese equipment and arms. Yes, we are fighting on the same side as the indomitable Dutch. We are fighting on the same side as all the other Governments in exile, whom Hitler and all his armies and all his Gestapo have not been able to conquer.

But we of the United Nations are not making all this sacrifice of human effort and human lives to return to the kind of world we had after the last world war.

We are fighting today for security, for progress, and for peace, not only for ourselves but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations. We are fighting to cleanse the world of ancient evils, ancient ills.

Our enemies are guided by brutal cynicism, by unholy contempt for the human race. We are inspired by a faith that goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: "God created man in His own image."

We on our side are striving to be true to that divine heritage. We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God. Those on the other side are striving to destroy this deep belief and to create a world in their own image—a world of tyranny and cruelty and selfishness.

That is the conflict that day and night now pervades our lives.

No compromise can end that conflict. There never has been—there never can be—successful compromise between good and evil. Only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith.

APPENDIX 1.8 (CHAPTER SIX):

‘Fireside Chat December 1941’

• Franklin D. Roosevelt

Fireside Chat.

December 9, 1941

The sudden criminal attacks perpetrated by the Japanese in the Pacific provide the climax of a decade of international immorality.

Powerful and resourceful gangsters have banded together to make war upon the whole human race. Their challenge has now been flung at the United States of America. The Japanese have treacherously violated the long-standing peace between us. Many American soldiers and sailors have been killed by enemy action. American ships have been sunk; American airplanes have been destroyed.

The Congress and the people of the United States have accepted that challenge.

Together with other free peoples, we are now fighting to maintain our right to live among our world neighbors in freedom and in common decency,

without fear of assault.

I have prepared the full record of our past relations with Japan, and it will be submitted to the Congress. It begins with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan 88 years ago. It ends with the visit of two Japanese emissaries to the Secretary of State last Sunday, an hour after Japanese forces had loosed their bombs and machine guns against our flag, our forces, and our citizens.

I can say with utmost confidence that no Americans, today or a thousand years hence, need feel anything but pride in our patience and in our efforts through all the years toward achieving a peace in the Pacific which would be fair and honorable to every Nation, large or small. And no honest person, today or a thousand years hence, will be able to suppress a sense of indignation and horror at the treachery committed by the military dictators of Japan, under the very shadow of the flag of peace borne by their special envoys in our midst.

The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and in Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is actual collaboration so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield.

In 1931, ten years ago, Japan invaded Manchukuo—without warning.

In 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia—without warning.

In 1938, Hitler occupied Austria—without warning.

In 1939, Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia—without warning.

Later in 1939, Hitler invaded Poland—without warning.

In 1940, Hitler invaded Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg—without warning.

In 1940, Italy attacked France and later Greece—without warning.

And this year, in 1941, the Axis powers attacked Yugoslavia and Greece and they dominated the Balkans—without warning. In 1941, also, Hitler invaded Russia—without warning.

And now Japan has attacked Malaya and Thailand—and the United States—without warning.

It is all of one pattern.

We are now in this war. We are all in it— all the way. Every single man, woman, and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history. We must share together the bad news and the good news, the defeats and the victories—the changing fortunes of war.

So far, the news has been all bad. We have suffered a serious set-back in Hawaii. Our forces in the Philippines, which include the brave people of that Commonwealth, are taking punishment, but are defending themselves vigorously. The reports from Guam and Wake and Midway islands are still confused, but we must be prepared for the announcement that all these three outposts have been seized.

The casualty lists of these first few days will undoubtedly be large. I deeply feel the anxiety of all of the families of the men in our armed forces and the relatives of people in cities which have been bombed. I can only give them my solemn promise that they will get news just as quickly as possible.

This Government will put its trust in the stamina of the American people, and will give the facts to the public just as soon as two conditions have been fulfilled: first, that the information has been definitely and officially confirmed; and, second, that the release of the information at the time it is received will not prove valuable to the enemy directly or indirectly.

Most earnestly I urge my countrymen to reject all rumors. These ugly little hints of complete disaster fly thick and fast in wartime. They have to be examined and appraised.

As an example, I can tell you frankly that until further surveys are made, I have not sufficient information to state the exact damage which has been done to our naval vessels at Pearl Harbor. Admittedly the damage is serious. But no one can say how serious, until we know how much of this damage can be repaired and how quickly the necessary repairs can be made.

I cite as another example a statement made on Sunday night that a Japanese carrier had been located and sunk off the Canal Zone. And when you hear statements that are attributed to what they call "an authoritative source," you can be reasonably sure from now on that under these war circumstances the "authoritative source" is not any person in authority.

Many rumors and reports which we now hear originate with enemy sources. For instance, today the Japanese are claiming that as a result of their one action against Hawaii they have gained naval supremacy in the Pacific. This is an old trick of propaganda which has been used innumerable times by the Nazis. The purposes of such fantastic claims are, of course, to spread fear and confusion among us, and to goad us into revealing military information which our enemies are desperately anxious to obtain.

Our Government will not be caught in this obvious trap—and neither will the people of the United States.

It must be remembered by each and every one of us that our free and rapid communication these days must be greatly restricted in wartime. It is not possible to receive full, speedy, accurate reports from distant areas of combat. This is particularly true where naval operations are concerned. For in these days of the marvels of radio it is often impossible for the commanders of various units to report their activities by radio at all, for the very simple

reason that this information would become available to the enemy, and would disclose their position and their plan of defense or attack.

Of necessity there will be delays in officially confirming or denying reports of operations but we will not hide facts from the country if we know the facts and if the enemy will not be aided by their disclosure.

To all newspapers and radio stations—all those who reach the eyes and ears of the American people—I say this: You have a most grave responsibility to the Nation now and for the duration of this war.

If you feel that your Government is not disclosing enough of the truth, you have every right to say so. But—in the absence of all the facts, as revealed by official sources—you have no right in the ethics of patriotism to deal out unconfirmed reports in such a way as to make people believe that they are gospel truth.

Every citizen, in every walk of life, shares this same responsibility. The lives of our soldiers and sailors—the whole future of this Nation—depend upon the manner in which each and every one of us fulfills his obligation to our country.

Now a word about the recent past—and the future. A year and a half has elapsed since the fall of France, when the whole world first realized the mechanized might which the Axis Nations had been building for so many years. America has used that year and a half to great advantage. Knowing that the attack might reach us in all too short a time, we immediately began greatly to increase our industrial strength and our capacity to meet the demands of modern warfare.

Precious months were gained by sending vast quantities of our war material to the Nations of the world still able to resist Axis aggression. Our policy rested on the fundamental truth that the defense of any country resisting Hitler or Japan was in the long run the defense of our own country. That policy has been justified. It has given us time, invaluable time, to build our American assembly lines of production.

Assembly lines are now in operation. Others are being rushed to completion. A steady stream of tanks and planes, of guns and ships, and shells and equipment—that is what these eighteen months have given us.

But it is all only a beginning of what still has to be done. We must be set to face a long war against crafty and powerful bandits. The attack at Pearl Harbor can be repeated at any one of many points, points in both oceans and along both our coast lines and against all the rest of the hemisphere.

It will not only be a long war, it will be a hard war. That is the basis on which we now lay all our plans. That is the yardstick by which we measure what we shall need and demand; money, materials, doubled and quadrupled production—ever-increasing. The production must be not only for our own Army and Navy and Air Forces. It must reinforce the other armies and navies and air forces fighting the Nazis and the war lords of Japan throughout the Americas and throughout the world.

I have been working today on the subject of production. Your Government has decided on two broad policies.

The first is to speed up all existing production by working on a seven-day-week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials.

The second policy, now being put into form, is to rush additions to the capacity of production by building more new plants, by adding to old plants, and by using the many smaller plants for war needs.

Over the hard road of the past months, we have at times met obstacles and difficulties, divisions and disputes, indifference and callousness. That is now all past—and, I am sure, forgotten.

The fact is that the country now has an organization in Washington built around men and women who are recognized experts in their own fields. I think the country knows that the people who are actually responsible in each and every one of these many fields are pulling together with a teamwork that has never before been excelled.

On the road ahead there lies hard work—grueling workday and night, every hour and every minute.

I was about to add that ahead there lies sacrifice for all of us.

But it is not correct to use that word. The United States does not consider it a sacrifice to do all one can, to give one's best to our Nation, when the Nation is fighting for its existence and its future life.

It is not a sacrifice for any man, old or young, to be in the Army or the Navy of the United States. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice for the industrialist or the wage earner, the farmer or the shopkeeper, the trainman or the doctor, to pay more taxes, to buy more bonds, to forego extra profits, to work longer or harder at the task for which he is best fitted. Rather is it a privilege.

It is not a sacrifice to do without many things to which we are accustomed if the national defense calls for doing without.

A review this morning leads me to the conclusion that at present we shall not have to curtail the normal use of articles of food. There is enough food today for all of us and enough left over to send to those who are fighting on the same side with us.

But there will be a clear and definite shortage of metals of many kinds for civilian use, for the very good reason that in our increased program we shall need for war purposes more than half of that portion of the principal metals which during the past year have gone into articles for civilian use. Yes, we shall have to give up many things entirely.

And I am sure that the people in every part of the Nation are prepared in their individual living to win this war. I am sure that they will cheerfully help to pay a large part of its financial cost while it goes on. I am sure they will cheerfully give up those material things that they are asked to give up.

And I am sure that they will retain all those great spiritual things without which we cannot win through.

I repeat that the United States can accept no result save victory, final and complete. Not only must the shame of Japanese treachery be wiped out, but the sources of international brutality, wherever they exist, must be absolutely and finally broken.

In my message to the Congress yesterday I said that we "will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us." In order to achieve that certainty, we must begin the great task that is before us by abandoning once and for all the illusion that we can ever again isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

In these past few years - and, most violently, in the past three days - we have learned a terrible lesson.

It is our obligation to our dead—it is our sacred obligation to their children and to our children—that we must never forget what we have learned.

And what we all have learned is this:

There is no such thing as security for any Nation—or any individual - in a world ruled by the principles of gangsterism.

There is no such thing as impregnable defense against powerful aggressors who sneak up in the dark and strike without warning.

We have learned that our ocean-girt hemisphere is not immune from severe attack—that we cannot measure our safety in terms of miles on any map any more.

We may acknowledge that our enemies have performed a brilliant feat of deception, perfectly timed and executed with great skill. It was a thoroughly dishonorable deed, but we must face the fact that modern warfare as conducted in the Nazi manner is a dirty business. We don't like it - we didn't want to get in it - but we are in it and we're going to fight it with everything we've got.

I do not think any American has any doubt of our ability to administer proper punishment to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Your Government knows that for weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came. She was promised by Germany that if she came in she would receive the complete and perpetual control of the whole of the Pacific area—and that means not only the Far East, but also all of the islands in the Pacific, and also a stranglehold on the west coast of North, Central, and South America.

We know also that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and Nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers.

That is their simple and obvious grand strategy. And that is why the American people must realize that it can be matched only with similar grand strategy. We must realize for example that Japanese successes against the United States in the Pacific are helpful to German operations in Libya; that any German success against the Caucasus is inevitably an assistance to Japan in her operations against the Dutch East Indies; that a German attack against Algiers or Morocco opens the way to a German attack against South America, and the Canal.

On the other side of the picture, we must learn also to know that guerrilla warfare against the Germans in, let us say, Serbia or Norway helps us; that a successful Russian offensive against the Germans helps us; and that British successes on land or sea in any part of the world strengthen our hands.

Remember always that Germany and Italy, regardless of any formal declaration of war, consider themselves at war with the United States at this moment just as much as they consider themselves at war with Britain or Russia. And Germany puts all the other Republics of the Americas into the same category of enemies. The people of our sister Republics of this hemisphere can be honored by that fact.

The true goal we seek is far above and beyond the ugly field of battle. When we resort to force, as now we must, we are determined that this force shall be directed toward ultimate good as well as against immediate evil. We Americans are not destroyers—we are builders.

We are now in the midst of a war, not for conquest, not for vengeance, but for a world in which this Nation, and all that this Nation represents, will be safe for our children. We expect to eliminate the danger from Japan, but it would serve us ill if we accomplished that and found that the rest of the world was dominated by Hitler and Mussolini.

We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows.

And in the difficult hours of this day—through dark days that may be yet to come - we will know that the vast majority of the members of the human race are on our side. Many of them are fighting with us. All of them are praying for us. For in representing our cause, we represent theirs as well - our hope and their hope for liberty under God.

APPENDIX 1.9 (CHAPTER SIX):

‘2002 State of the Union Address’

• George W. Bush

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 29, 2002

Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our Nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet, the state of our Union has never been stronger.

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In 4 short months, our Nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression.

The American flag flies again over our Embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own.

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcomed the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan, Chairman Hamid Karzai.

The last time we met in this Chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today, women are free and are part of Afghanistan's new Government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Dr. Sima Samar.

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. The men and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves, you will not escape the justice of this Nation.

For many Americans, these 4 months have brought sorrow and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: "Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day."

Last month, at the grave of her husband, Micheal, a CIA officer and marine who died in Mazar-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell, "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Micheal and all who gave their lives for freedom.

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equalled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear powerplants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not and will not allow it.

Our Nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world.

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld, including groups like Hamas, Hizballah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-e-Mohammed, operates in remote jungles and deserts and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian Government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our Embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will.

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th, but we know their true nature.

North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections, then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

States like these and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil, aiming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our Nation's security.

We'll be deliberate; yet, time is not on our side. I will not wait on events while dangers gather. I will not stand by as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons.

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch; yet, it must be and it will be waged on our watch. We can't stop short. If we stop now, leaving terror camps intact and terrorist states unchecked, our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight.

Our first priority must always be the security of our Nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we will protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September the 11th brought out the best in America and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party. Yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats but as Americans.

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month, over \$30 million a day, and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training, and they also deserve another pay raise.

My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades, because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay.

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our Nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help States and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States.

Homeland security will make America not only stronger but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by Al Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones.

Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. To achieve these great national objectives—to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy—our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. We have clear priorities, and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas. We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession.

Americans who have lost their jobs need our help, and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks; they want a steady paycheck. When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs.

Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller, Senator Judd Gregg. And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend Ted Kennedy. *[Laughter]* I know the folks at the Crawford coffee

shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing— [laughter]—but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results.

There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America, a quality teacher in every classroom.

Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil.

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority.

On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation.

Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. Last year, some in this Hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it was too big. But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent.

The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package.

Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job.

Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights, to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage, to approve an historic increase in the spending for veterans' health, and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs.

A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401(k) and pension plans. Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest standards of conduct.

Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who choose them.

Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy; a cleaner environment; broader homeownership, especially among minorities; and ways to encourage the good work of charities and faith-based groups. I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism.

During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil.

The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.

And I hope you will join me—I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our Nation in crisis, our First Lady, Laura Bush.

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet, after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate and more about the good we can do.

For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed, "Let's roll." In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass.

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least 2 years, 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime, to the service of your neighbors and your Nation. Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world.

One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies, volunteers to help police and fire departments, transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.

And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next 5 years, and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world.

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity, a moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering momentum of

millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good.

And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace. All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed or aspire to servitude or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police. If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of learning and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere.

No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance.

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom.

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. We've come to know truths that we will never question: Evil is real, and it must be opposed. Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy—especially in tragedy—God is near.

In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life.

Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

Thank you all. May God bless.

APPENDIX 2.0 (CHAPTER SEVEN):

‘Oil Imports Remarks’

• Jimmy Carter

Oil Imports From Iran Remarks Announcing Discontinuance of United States Imports.

November 12, 1979

We continue to face a grave situation in Iran, where our Embassy has been seized and more than 60 American citizens continue to be held as hostages in an attempt to force unacceptable demands on our country. We're using every available channel to protect the safety of the hostages and to secure their release.

Along with the families of the hostages, I have welcomed and I appreciate the restraint that has been shown by Americans during this crisis. We must continue to exhibit such constraint, despite the intensity of our emotions. The lives of our people in Iran are at stake.

I must emphasize the gravity of the situation. It's vital to the United States and to every other nation that the lives of diplomatic personnel and other citizens abroad be protected and that we refuse to permit the use of terrorism and the seizure and the holding of hostages to impose political demands.

No one should underestimate the resolve of the American Government and the American people in this matter. It is necessary to eliminate any suggestion that economic pressures can weaken our stand on basic issues of principle. Our position must be clear. I am ordering that we discontinue purchasing of any oil from Iran for delivery to this country.

These events obviously demonstrate the extreme importance of reducing oil consumption here in the United States. I urge every American citizen and every American business to redouble efforts to curtail the use of petroleum products. This action will pose a real challenge to our country. It will be a test of our strength and of our determination.

I've directed Secretary Duncan to work with the Congress and with other Federal, State, and local officials, and with leaders of industry to develop

additional measures to conserve oil and to cope with this new situation. We will strive to ensure equitable and fair distribution of petroleum products and to ensure a minimum of disruption of our Nation's economy.

These American measures must be part of an effective international effort, and we will consult with our allies and with other oil-consuming nations about further actions to reduce oil consumption and oil imports.

America does face a difficult task and a test. Our response will measure our character and our courage. I know that we Americans shall not fail. Thank you very much.

APPENDIX 2.1 (CHAPTER SEVEN):

‘Carter’s News Conference’

• Jimmy Carter

The President's News Conference

November 28, 1979

SITUATION IN IRAN

THE PRESIDENT. For the last 24 days our Nation's concern has been focused on our fellow Americans being held hostage in Iran. We have welcomed some of them home to their families and their friends. But we will not rest nor deviate from our efforts until all have been freed from their imprisonment and their abuse. We hold the Government of Iran fully responsible for the well-being and the safe return of every single person.

I want the American people to understand the situation as much as possible, but there may be some questions tonight which I cannot answer fully, because of my concern for the well-being of the hostages.

First of all, I would like to say that I am proud of this great Nation, and I want to thank all Americans for their prayers, their courage, their persistence, their strong support and patience. During these past days our national will, our courage, and our maturity have all been severely tested, and history will show that the people of the United States have met every test.

In the days to come, our determination may be even more sorely tried, but we will continue to defend the security, the honor, and the freedom of Americans everywhere. This Nation will never yield to blackmail. For all Americans, our constant concern is the well-being and the safety of our fellow citizens who are being held illegally and irresponsibly hostage in Iran.

The actions of Iran have shocked the civilized world. For a government to applaud mob violence and terrorism, for a government actually to support and, in effect, participate in the taking and the holding of hostages is unprecedented in human history. This violates not only the most fundamental precepts of international law but the common ethical and religious heritage of humanity. There is no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones kidnapping. There is no recognized religious faith on Earth which condones blackmail. There is certainly no religious faith on Earth which condones the sustained abuse of innocent people.

We are deeply concerned about the inhuman and degrading conditions imposed on the hostages. From every corner of the world, nations and people have voiced their strong revulsion and condemnation of Iran and have joined us in calling for the release of the hostages.

Last night, a statement of support was released and was issued by the President of the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, on behalf of all of its members. We expect a further Security Council meeting on Saturday night, at which more firm and official action may be taken to help in obtaining the release of the American hostages. Any claims raised by government officials of Iran will ring hollow while they keep innocent people bound and abused and threatened.

We hope that this exercise of diplomacy and international law will bring a peaceful solution, because a peaceful solution is preferable to the other remedies available to the United States. At the same time, we pursue such a solution with grim determination. The Government of Iran must recognize the gravity of the situation, which it has itself created, and the grave consequences which will result if harm comes to any of the hostages.

I want the American people to know and I want the world to know that we will persist in our efforts, through every means available, until every single American has been freed. We must also recognize now, as we never have before, that it is our entire Nation which is vulnerable, because of our overwhelming and excessive dependence on oil from foreign countries. We have got to accept the fact that this dependence is a direct physical threat to our national security, and we must join together to fight for our Nation's energy freedom.

We know the ways to win this war: more American energy and the more efficient use of what we have. The United States Congress is now struggling with this extremely important decision. The way to victory is long and difficult, but we have the will, and we have the human and the natural resources of our great Nation.

However hard it might be to see into the future, one thing tonight is clear: We stand together. We stand as a nation unified, a people determined to protect the life and the honor of every American. And we are determined to make America an energy-secure nation once again. It is unthinkable that we will allow ourselves to be dominated by any form of overdependence at home or any brand of terrorism abroad. We are determined that the freest nation on Earth shall protect and enhance its freedom. I'd be glad to answer questions.

QUESTIONS

WORLD REACTION TO IRANIAN SITUATION

Q. Mr. President, the Ayatollah Khomeini said the other day—and I'm using his words—he doesn't believe you have the guts to use military force. He puts no credibility in our military deterrent. I'm wondering, how do we get out of this mess in Iran and still retain credibility with our allies and with our adversaries overseas?

THE PRESIDENT. We have the full support of our allies, and in this particular instance, we have no adversaries overseas. There is no civilized country on Earth which has not condemned the seizure and the holding of the hostages by Iran.

It would not be advisable for me to explore publicly all of the options open to our country. As I said earlier, I'm determined to do the best I can through diplomatic means and through peaceful means to ensure the safety of our hostages and their release. Other actions which I might decide to take would come in the future, after those peaceful means have been exhausted.

But I believe that the growing condemnation of the world community on Iran will have a beneficial effect.

SHAH OF IRAN

Q. Mr. President, why did you reverse your policy and permit the Shah to come into this country when, one, medical treatment was available elsewhere; two, you had been warned by our charge that the Americans might be endangered in Tehran; and three, the Bazargan government was so shaky that it was questionable whether he could deliver on the promise to protect our Embassy? And last of all, in view of the consequences, do you regret the decision?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The decision that I made, personally and without pressure from anyone, to carry out the principles of our country, to provide for the means of giving the Shah necessary medical assistance to save his life, was proper. At the same time, we notified the Government of Iran. We were assured by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister that our Embassy would be protected, and it was protected for several days, in spite of threats from outside.

Then peremptorily, after Khomeini made an aggravating speech to the crowds in the street and withdrew protection from the Embassy, it was attacked successfully. The Embassy was protected by our people for the length of time possible without help from the host government. No embassy on Earth is a fortress that can withstand constant attacks by a mob, unless a host government comes to the rescue of the people within the embassy.

But I took the right decision. I have no regrets about it nor apologies to make, because it did help to save a man's life, and it was compatible with the principles of our country.

EFFECT ON U.S. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Q. Mr. President, we appear to be in a rather dangerous period of international tension and volatility, especially in the Islamic world, and it comes at a time when we're about to embark on our quadrennial election campaign, with all that that will bring. Have you given any thought to whether, following examples of other national emergencies, it may be wise to try to mute the political fallout of this by trying to bring opponents in and outside of your party into some kind of emergency coalition for this purpose?

THE PRESIDENT. We have attempted to keep the political leaders in our Nation informed, both publicly and through other channels. We have given frequent briefings, for instance, on the Hill, both to the Members of the Senate and to the House. We have encouraged all of those who have become announced candidates for President to restrain their comments, which might be misconstrued overseas, and to have a maximum degree of harmony among those who might be spokesmen for our country.

I myself, in order to stay close to the scene here, where constantly changing events could be handled by me as President, have eliminated the major portion of political-oriented activities.

I don't think the identity of the Islamic world is a factor. We have the deepest respect and reverence for Islam and for all those who share the Moslem faith. I might say that, so far as I know, all the Islamic nations have joined us in condemning the activities and the actions of the Government of Iran. So, I don't think religious divisions are a factor here at all.

But I will have to continue to restrict my own political activities and call on those who might be opposing me in the future for President to support my position as President and to provide unity for our country and for our Nation in the eyes of those who might be looking for some sign of weakness or division in order to perpetuate their abuse of our hostages.

SECURITY FOR EMBASSIES

Q. What can the U.S. do now, what can it do to prevent future incidents of the nature of Iran? How can you satisfy the public demand to end such embarrassment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, this is an unprecedented and unique occurrence. Down through history, we have had times when some of our people were captured by terrorists or who were abused, and there have obviously been instances of international kidnaping which occurred for the discomfiture of a people or a government. So far as I know, this is the first time that such an activity has been encouraged by and supported by the government itself, and I don't anticipate this kind of thing recurring.

We have taken steps already, in view of the disturbances in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region, to guard our people more closely, to provide them with higher degree of security, and to make arrangements with the host governments to provide assistance, if it's needed, in the fastest possible

way .

Many other nations have reduced severely the number of persons overseas. I think one of the points that should be made is that a year ago, we had 70,000 Americans in Iran—70,000. There were literally thousands of people who were killed in the Iranian revolution, from all nations. We were able to extract Americans from Iran safely. It was a superb demonstration of cooperation and good conduct on the part of the State Department and other American officials.

So, there will be disturbances in the future, but I think we are well protected as we possibly can be, without withdrawing into a shell, from protecting American interests in nations overseas.

My own experience, so far, has been that the leaders of nations have recommitted themselves to provide security for embassies of all countries. I think we've learned a lesson from this instance. But, because it is so unique, in the high degree of irresponsibility of the Iranian Government leaders, I don't believe that we'll see another recurrence of it any time soon.

HENRY KISSINGER

Q. Mr. President, former Secretary of State Kissinger has criticized your administration's handling of the situation in Iran. He has suggested that it came about because, partly because of the perceived weakness in American foreign policy, and that it has further damaged America's image as a result. How do you respond?

THE PRESIDENT. I would rather not respond. There's no reason for me to get into a public debate at this time with former Secretary Kissinger about who is or who is not responsible for the events that took place in Iran.

Obviously, what has occurred could not have been predicted. And for 30 years, our country has had a relationship with a fairly stable government there. The changes took place very rapidly. So far as I know, no one on Earth predicted them.

And I think it's not becoming at this moment and not conducive to better American understanding to get involved in answering allegations that I or someone else may have been culpable and may have caused a further aggravation of a very difficult situation.

Q. Mr. President, just one followup. What role did the former Secretary play in your decision to permit the Shah into the country?

THE PRESIDENT. None. I did not hear at all from the Secretary, former Secretary Kissinger, nor did he contact Secretary Vance at any time during the days when we were deciding that the Shah should come into the United States for medical care to save his life. In previous weeks and months since the Shah was deposed, Secretary Kissinger and many others let it be known that they thought that we should provide a haven for the Shah. But Secretary Kissinger played no role in my decision to permit the Shah to come in for medical treatment.

SHAH OF IRAN

Q. Mr. President, speaking of the Shah, if he is well enough to travel, would you like him to leave the country?

THE PRESIDENT. That's a decision to be made by the Shah and by his medical advisers. When he decided to come to our country, with my permission, I was informed then, and I have been informed since, that as soon as his medical treatment was successfully completed, that his intention was to leave. And I have not encouraged him to leave. He was free to come here for medical treatment, and he will leave on his own volition.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH ISLAMIC NATIONS

Q. Mr. President, yes, I would like to follow up Mr. Schorr's [Daniel Schorr, Des Moines Register] question. The consequences of the crisis in Iran is drifting the United States into almost a cold war with the Islamic countries. Watching TV news for 25 days, Americans soon will believe the whole Moslem world is hating them. Moreover, they are not told that the Shiites are a very minor minority among the population of the Islamic world, because the most majority is Sunni. Don't you think you get any help from any Islamic country, and what will your policy be towards the Islamic countries under these circumstances?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the premise of your question is completely wrong. We're not approaching any sort of cold war with the Islamic countries. So far as I know, every Islamic country has condemned Iran for its capture of our hostages, and has been very supportive. This includes Moslem nations which, in the past, have not been close friends of ours—Iraq, Libya, and others. So, I don't see this as confrontation at all between our Nation and the Islamic world.

It's certainly not part of the Islamic faith to condone, as I said earlier, blackmail or the persecution or harm of innocent people or kidnapping or terrorism.

So, I think that we have a very good relationship with the people and the governments of the Islamic world, and I don't think it's deteriorated in this instance. In some ways, we've been drawn closer to these people, because they see what has occurred in Iran as something of a disgrace for their own religious faith, and they don't see this as typical of what Moslems believe.

I might add, also, that this is not typical of the Shiite faith, either. It's the misguided actions of a few people in Iran who are burning with hatred and a desire for revenge, completely contrary to the teachings of the Moslem faith.

U.S. REACTION TO IRANIAN SITUATION

Q. Mr. President, there's a feeling of hostility throughout the country toward Iran, because of the hostages. Senator Long said that the taking of our Embassy in Iran, in his words, is an act of war. There are rumors, since denied, that our Navy has been called up for service. I ask you, as our Commander in Chief, is war possible, is war thinkable?

THE PRESIDENT. It would be a mistake for the people of our country to have aroused within them hatred toward anyone; not against the people of Iran, and certainly not against Iranians who may be in our country as our guests. We certainly do not want to be guilty of the same violation of human decency and basic human principles that have proven so embarrassing to many of the Iranian citizens themselves.

We obviously prefer to see our hostages protected and released completely through peaceful means. And that's my deepest commitment, and that will be my goal. The United States has other options available to it, which will be considered, depending upon the circumstances. But I think it would not be well-advised for me to speak of those specifically tonight.

IRANIAN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Q. Mr. President, we have had 55,000 Iranian students in this country. We've been very good to them, very hospitable. Even the new Finance Minister of Saudi Arabia was a student who once demonstrated in Washington against law and order. Shouldn't we be very careful in letting any of these students come in here? Shouldn't we screen them in the future and make them agree that they will not demonstrate?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it's very difficult for an Iranian citizen or a student to get a visa at the American Embassy in Iran at this time [Laughter] And I think the influx of Iranians to our country now would be minimal.

I'm determined to enforce the law about Iranian students. Some of them have violated the law. They are now being screened; they are being assessed in their commitment and the legality of their presence here. We have already finished this procedure with more than 22,000. About 17,000 have proven to be here completely legally and are indeed full-time students. Among the other 5,000, about several hundred have already departed; others are now having to prove that, contrary to the earliest evidence, they do indeed have a right to be in our country. If they are here illegally, they will be expelled.

There is one exception to that rule: If a citizen of Iran can prove that if he or she returned to Iran that they would be executed or abused because of their political beliefs, they can seek asylum here. And if that asylum, in our judgment, is justified, we will provide it for them.

But this procedure is going forward in accordance with American law, in accordance with American fairness, in accordance with the full principles of the United States Constitution.

DEADLINE FOR RELEASING AMERICAN HOSTAGES

Q. Mr. President, can this crisis go on indefinitely, or ought the Ayatollah Khomeini understand that at some point the American people may demand and other nations may expect that you move forward to resolve it by whatever means you find necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. It would not be possible or even advisable for me to set a deadline about when or if I would take certain action in the future. This is an ever-present consideration on my mind. I'm carrying out all of the duties that normally fall on a President's shoulder, which are adequate, but I never forget one moment that I'm awake about the hostages whose lives and whose safety depend on me. And I am pursuing every possible avenue to have the hostages released.

Any excessive threats or any excessive belief among the Iranians that they will be severely damaged by military action, as long as these negotiations are proceeding and as long as legalities can be followed, might cause the death of the hostages, which we are committed to avoid. So, that's one of the questions that I cannot answer: to set down a certain deadline beyond which we would take extra action, that might result in the harm or the death of the hostages.

We are proceeding, I guarantee you, in every possible way, every possible moment, to get the hostages freed and, at the same time, protect the honor and the integrity and the basic principles of our country. That's all I can do, but I am doing it to the best of my ability, and I believe we will be successful.

U.S. STRENGTH ABROAD

Q. Mr. President, many Americans view the Iranian situation as one in a succession of events that proves that this country's power is declining. How can you assure Americans tonight that our power is not declining abroad, and how are you reassessing priorities for the eighties in terms of foreign policy?

THE PRESIDENT. The United States has neither the ability nor the will to dominate the world, to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, to impose our will on other people whom we desire to be free, to make their own decisions. This is not part of the commitment of the United States.

Our country is the strongest on Earth. We're the strongest militarily, politically, economically, and I think we're the strongest morally and ethically. Our country has made great strides, even since I've been in office. I've tried to correct some of the defects that did exist. We have strengthened the military alliances of our country, for instance. NATO now has a new spirit, a new confidence, a new cohesion, improving its military capabilities, much more able to withstand any threat from the east, from the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact, than it was before.

We've espoused again the principles that unite Americans and make us admired throughout the world, raising the banner of human rights. We're going to keep it high. We have opened up avenues of communication, understanding, trade, with people that formerly were our enemies or excluded us—several nations in Africa, the vast people and the vast country of the People's Republic of China. In doing so, we've not alienated any of our previous friends.

I think our country is strong within itself. There is not an embarrassment now about our Government, which did exist in a few instances in years gone by. So, I don't see at all that our country has become weak. We are strong, and we are getting stronger, not weaker. But if anybody thinks that we can dominate other people with our strength, military or political strength or economic strength, they are wrong. That's not the purpose of our country.

Our inner strength, our confidence in ourselves, I think, is completely adequate. And I believe the unity that the American people have shown in this instance, their patience, is not at all a sign of weakness. It is a sign of sure strength.

INVESTIGATION OF THE SHAH

Q. Mr. President, serious charges have been placed against the Shah concerning the repression of his own people and the misappropriation of his nation's funds. Is there an appropriate vehicle to investigate those charges, and do you foresee a time when you would direct your administration to assist in that investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know of any international forum within which charges have ever been brought against a deposed leader who has left his country. There have been instances of changing governments down through the centuries in history, and I don't know of any instance where such a leader, who left his country after his government fell, has been tried in an international court or in an international forum.

This is a matter that can be pursued. It should be pursued under international law, and if there is a claim against the Shah's financial holdings, there is nothing to prevent other parties from going into the courts, in accordance with the law of a nation or internationally, and seeking a redress of grievances which they claim.

But as I said earlier, I don't think there's any forum that will listen to the Iranians make any sort of claim, justified or not, as long as they hold against their will and abuse the hostages, in complete contravention to every international law and every precept or every commitment or principle of humankind.

BROOKS JACKSON [Associated Press]. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

APPENDIX 2.2 (CHAPTER SEVEN):

'Bush Radio Address'

• George W. Bush

The President's Radio Address

September 29, 2001

Good morning. I want to report to you on the progress being made on many fronts in our war against terrorism. This is a different kind of war, which we will wage aggressively and methodically to disrupt and destroy terrorist activity.

In recent days, many members of our military have left their homes and families and begun moving into a place for missions to come. Thousands of reservists have been called to active duty. Soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and coastguardmen are being deployed to points around the globe, ready to answer when their country calls. Our military families have accepted many hardships, and our Nation is grateful for their willing service. The men and women of the Armed Forces are united in their dedication to freedom, and they will make us proud in the struggle against terrorism.

International cooperation is gaining momentum. This week I met with the Prime Ministers of two of America's closest friends, Canada and Japan. Other countries, from Russia to Indonesia, are giving strong support as the war against terrorism moves forward. America is grateful to the nations that have cut off diplomatic ties with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which is sheltering terrorists. The United States respects the people of Afghanistan, and we are their largest provider of humanitarian aid. But we condemn the Taliban and welcome the support of other nations in isolating that regime.

We have also launched a strike against the financial foundation of the global terror network. Our goal is to deny terrorists the money they need to carry out their plans. We began by identifying 27 terrorist organizations, terrorist leaders, and foreign businesses and charities that support or front for terrorism. We froze whatever assets they had here in the United States, and we blocked them from doing business with people, companies, or banks in our country. Many governments and financial institutions around the world are joining in this effort to starve terrorists of funding.

This week I visited the headquarters of the FBI and the CIA. Their agents and analysts have been on the case around the clock, uncovering and pursuing the enemy. In the long campaign ahead, they will need our continued support and every necessary tool to do their work.

I'm asking Congress for new law enforcement authority to better track the communications of terrorists and to detain suspected terrorists until the moment they are deported. I will also seek more funding and better technology for our country's intelligence community.

This week we also took strong steps to improve security on planes and in airports and to restore confidence in air travel. We're providing airlines with Federal grants to make cockpits more secure through measures including fortified doors and stronger locks. And we're dramatically increasing the number of Federal air marshals on our planes. Americans will have the confidence of knowing that fully equipped officers of the law are flying with them in far greater numbers. I'm also working with Congress to put Federal law enforcement in charge of all bag and passenger screening at our airports. Standards will be tougher and enforced by highly trained professionals who know exactly what they're looking for. To enhance safety immediately, I've asked Governors to place National Guardsmen at security checkpoints in airports.

As all these actions make clear, our war on terror will be much broader than the battlefields and beachheads of the past. This war will be fought wherever terrorists hide or run or plan. Some victories will be won outside of public view, in tragedies avoided and threats eliminated. Other victories will be clear to all.

Our weapons are military and diplomatic, financial and legal. And in this struggle, our greatest advantages are the patience and resolve of the American people.

We did not seek this conflict, but we will win it. America will act deliberately and decisively, and the cause of freedom will prevail.

Thank you for listening.

APPENDIX 2.3 (CHAPTER SEVEN):

‘Bush Remarks to Muslim Community Leaders’

• George W. Bush

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Muslim Community Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters

September 26, 2001

The President. It's my honor to welcome to the White House my fellow Americans, Arab Americans, Americans who are Muslim by faith, to discuss about the current incident that took place, the aftermath of the incident, and what our country is going to do to make sure that everybody who is an American is respected.

I have told the Nation more than once that ours is a war against evil, against extremists, that the teachings of Islam are the teachings of peace and good. And the Al Qaida organization is not an organization of good, an organization of peace; it's an organization based upon hate and evil.

I also want to assure my fellow Americans that when you pledge allegiance to the flag with your hand on your heart, you pledge just as hard to the flag as I do; that the outpouring of support for our country has come from all corners of the country, including many members of the Muslim faith. And for that I am grateful.

I appreciate the contributions of time, the contributions of blood to help our fellow Americans who have been injured. And I'm proud of the Muslim leaders across America who have risen up and who have not only insisted that America be strong but that America keep the values intact that have made us so unique and different, the values of respect, the values of freedom to worship the way we see fit. And I also appreciate the prayers to the universal God.

And so, thank you all for coming. I don't know if you all remember, the imam led the service at the National Cathedral. He did a heck of a good job, and we were proud to have him there. And I want to thank you very much for the gift you gave me, Imam, the Koran. It's a very thoughtful gift. I said, "Thank you very much for the gift." He said, "It's the best gift I could give you, Mr. President." I appreciate that very much.

Q. Mr. President—

Assistant Press Secretary Gordon Johndroe. Thank you all very much. Thank you all.

Q. Mr. President—

The President. Yes? Wait a minute. I feel guilty that John [John Roberts, CBS News] couldn't—yes?

U.S. Intelligence

Q. Sir, Senator Shelby this morning had some pretty direct comments about his thinking that somebody needs to be held accountable for what has been characterized by some people as a massive intelligence failure. I wonder what you think of his comments. Is he trying to inject politics in this? Does someone need to fall on their sword, if you will?

The President. Well, John, the intelligence-gathering capacity of the United States is doing a fine job. These terrorists had burrowed in our country for over 2 years. They were well organized. They were well planned. They struck in a way that was unimaginable. And we are a united nation. We're going to go forward with our war against these terrorists. And our Nation should have all the confidence that the intelligence-gathering capacity of the United States is doing everything possible to not only keep us informed about what's happening overseas but to keep us informed about what might happen here at home.

Q. So how would you characterize his comments over the last few days?

The President. Well, he's a concerned American. I'm sure other Americans are asking how could this have happened, including the President. But what Americans need to know is that I'm receiving excellent intelligence; the CIA is doing a fine job; the FBI is responding on every single lead we're getting; and that we're doing everything we can to make the homeland safe, as well as everything we can to bring people to justice.

Usama bin Laden

Q. Granted the extremism, do you—and I'd like to ask the imam the same question—do you consider bin Laden a religious leader or a political leader?

The President. I consider bin Laden an evil man. And I don't think there's any religious justification for what he has in mind. Islam is a religion of love, not hate. This is a man who hates. This is a man who's declared war on innocent people. This is a man who doesn't mind destroying women and children.

This is man who hates freedom. This is an evil man.

Q. But does he have political goals?

The President. He has got evil goals. And it's hard to think in conventional terms about a man so dominated by evil that he's willing to do what he thinks he's going to get away with. But he's not going to get away with it.

Airline Industry

Q. Sir, there were thousands of more layoffs in the airline industry today. What is the administration going to do about it?

The President. Come to Chicago tomorrow.

Assistant Press Secretary Johndroe. Thanks. Thank you all. Can we go now? Thank you. I don't want to shout you down, so let's just leave. Thank you.

Situation in the Middle East

Q. On the Middle East—think that's going to lead to a durable peace in the Middle East?

The President. Steve's [Steve Holland, Reuters] question was on the Middle East. Sorry, Gordon. That's what happens when you invite guys—[laughter]. You invite John Roberts in here—aggressive reporters, you get—Steve asked about the Middle East.

We're encouraged that there are discussions going on that could lead to the implementation of Mitchell. There is the framework for peace. There is the process now available. It's the Mitchell plan, which everybody agreed to, is the right way to get to a peaceful resolution in the Middle East. And there is a series of discussions that took place. Hopefully, there will be more discussions and that both parties get into Mitchell. And that's going to be good for America, and it will be good for the Middle East and good for the world. And so we're hopeful.

I don't know if you remember, but I said, out of this crisis, this tragedy that hit America, I do see opportunity. And one of the opportunities would be that there's some sensible thinking that goes into the Middle East and that people now realize that this violence, this terrible destruction of human life, is not the correct path to follow and that, hopefully, people use this example as—the incidents that took place on September 11th to bring some reality to the Middle East.

The discussions are moving on. And I want to thank the Secretary of State for staying with it, staying on the phone, and encouraging both parties to get to the table. And we'll see what happens. We're hopeful.

Chechnya

Q. Mr. President, have you changed your thinking on Chechnya, in light of what's happened since September 11th?

The President. Well, first of all, to the extent that there are terrorists in Chechnya, Arab terrorists associated with the Al Qaida organization, I believe they ought to be brought to justice; as you heard me say, that our initial phase of the war on terrorism is against the Al Qaida organization. And we do believe there are some Al Qaida folks in Chechnya.

However, I do believe it's very important for President Putin to deal with the Chechen minority in this country with respect, respect of human rights and respect of difference of opinion about religion, for example. And so I would hope that the Russian President, while dealing with the Al Qaida organization, also respects minority rights within his country.

Airport and Airline Security

Q. Mr. President, tomorrow you'll be announcing some new security measures, one of them likely to include some Federal role in training airport security personnel and monitoring their work as time goes on, moving forward.

The President. Well, we're going to deal with airport security tomorrow, as well as other measures, to try to convince the American public it is safe to fly. One of my concerns is that this terrible incident has said to many Americans—convinced many Americans to stay at home. And one of the keys to economic recovery is going to be a vital—the vitality of the airline industry.

I presume many of you came to Washington today by flying, and you're here safely. And it's a—we'll announce some confidence-boosting measures, some concrete proposals, and I believe we'll be able to work with Congress to get them done in an expeditious way.

Q. You don't support arming pilots?

The President. Army pilots?

Q. Arming pilots.

The President. Oh, arming. As I said, I look forward to any suggestion that—there may be better ways to do it than that, but I'm open for any suggestion. And the good news is, is that there's a willingness on Capitol Hill to work with the administration, and vice versa, to come up with constructive, sound ways to convince the American public it's safe to fly.

Q. How quickly do you think you can put these plans in place?

The President. Oh, some of them will be—some of them will take a while; some of them could happen very quickly. Just give me a chance to give my speech. You're trying to jump the gun on me, Stretch [Richard Keil, Bloomberg News]. [*Laughter*]

Q. It's my job, sir.

The President. You're doing it well, too, my boy. [*Laughter*]

John, no longer can you say, I haven't answered your questions. [*Laughter*]

Q. One of the three ain't bad. Thank you, sir. [*Laughter*]

The President. [*Inaudible*—batting .333. All right.

Q. Thank you.

The President. Gordon, good job—no questions. [*Laughter*]

APPENDIX 2.4 (CHAPTER EIGHT):

‘Emma E. Booker Primary School’

• George W. Bush

Remarks in Sarasota, Florida, on the Terrorist Attack on New York City's World Trade Center

September 11, 2001

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a difficult moment for America. I, unfortunately, will be going back to Washington after my remarks. Secretary Rod Paige and the Lieutenant Governor will take the podium and discuss education. I do want to thank the folks here at Booker Elementary School for their hospitality.

Today we've had a national tragedy. Two airplanes have crashed into the World Trade Center in an apparent terrorist attack on our country. I have spoken to the Vice President, to the Governor of New York, to the Director of the FBI and have ordered that the full resources of the Federal Government go to help the victims and their families and to conduct a full-scale investigation to hunt down and to find those folks who committed this act.

Terrorism against our Nation will not stand.

And now if you would join me in a moment of silence.

[*A moment of silence was observed.*]

May God bless the victims, their families, and America.

Thank you very much.

APPENDIX 2.5 (CHAPTER EIGHT):

‘Louisiana Air Force Base’

• George W. Bush

Remarks at Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, on the Terrorist Attacks

September 11, 2001

Freedom, itself, was attacked this morning by a faceless coward, and freedom will be defended. I want to reassure the American people that the full resources of the Federal Government are working to assist local authorities to save lives and to help the victims of these attacks. Make no mistake: The United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts.

I've been in regular contact with the Vice President, the Secretary of Defense, the national security team, and my Cabinet. We have taken all appropriate security precautions to protect the American people. Our military at home and around the world is on high-alert status, and we have taken the necessary security precautions to continue the functions of your Government.

We have been in touch with the leaders of Congress and with world leaders to assure them that we will do whatever is necessary to protect America and Americans.

I ask the American people to join me in saying a thanks for all the folks who have been fighting hard to rescue our fellow citizens and to join me in saying a prayer for the victims and their families.

The resolve of our great Nation is being tested. But make no mistake: We will show the world that we will pass this test.

God bless.

APPENDIX 2.6 (CHAPTER EIGHT):

‘Awful Oval Address’

• George W. Bush

Address to the Nation on the Terrorist Attacks

September 11, 2001

Good evening. Today our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes or in their offices: secretaries, business men and women, military and Federal workers, moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.

The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our Nation into chaos and retreat, but they have failed. Our country is strong.

A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve. America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Today our Nation saw evil, the very worst of human nature. And we responded with the best of America, with the daring of our rescue workers, with the

caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our Government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington, DC, to help with local rescue efforts.

Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

The functions of our Government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business as well.

The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I appreciate so very much the Members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

Tonight I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened. And I pray they will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America.

APPENDIX 2.7 (CHAPTER EIGHT):

‘World-wide Outpouring of Grief’

ARGENTINA – Crowds gather to pay their respect;

AUSTRALIA, SYDNEY – Outside US Embassy large US flag inscribed:

‘GOD BLESS AMERICA – YOU’LL NOT BE FORGOTTEN’

Boy of 3, wearing Batman suit, lays flowers on the flag;

*BANGLADESH – Many people walk with banners in sympathy for the
Fallen;*

BELARUS, MINSK – Flowers, flags, and burning candles tribute;

CANADA – Middle aged man grips his sides to control his emotions;

A violinist cries whilst performing at a public concert;

CHINA, BEIJING - Large floral tributes in honour of 9/11 victims;

CROATIA, ZAGREB – candlelight tribute;

DENMARK, COPENHAGEN – Candlelight vigil holding large American

Flag at Town Hall

ENGLAND, LONDON – The Queen sheds a tear at 9/11 memorial

Service;

EUROPEAN UNION – Flies all national flags at half-mast;

*FRANCE, PARIS – Le Monde Newspaper headline:
‘WE ARE ALL AMERICANS’;*

Crowds give tribute outside American Embassy

A mature gentleman kneels down next to a flag that says:

I LOVE NEW YORK;

GERMANY – Large banner reading:

AMERICA YOU’LL NEVER WALK ALONE covered with candles;

GERMANY, BERLIN – US Embassy besieged with candles and flowers;

GERMANY, FRANKFURT, – Vast carpet made of flowers with

European Union stars framing the American flag;

GERMANY – UEFA insist soccer match must go ahead, players show

Indignation: Over 80% of match resembles demonstration

Schalke 04’s Coach and Assistant shed tears;

GERMANY – Volkswagen Autostadt Auto Museum, cover

The floor of a huge hall with candles in memory of the dead;

GERMANY, MUNICH – A candlelight vigil;

HONG KONG – Floral tribute outside the US Embassy, one tribute is huge

American flag made from flowers with this inscription below:

AS WE WALK THROUGH THE VALLEY OF THE

SHADOW OF DEATH, WE FEAR NO EVIL AS WE

ARE UNITED AS ONE: IN MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS

OF SEPTEMBER 11, 2001;

INDIA, AHMADABAD – A friendship memorial in mosque;

INDIA (elsewhere) – Scenes of outraged Indians burn an effigy of

Osama Bin Laden;

INDIA, NORTHERN – Sikhs pray for the American bereaved;

ISRAEL, TEL AVIV – Amongst floral and candle tribute is large banner:

'IMAGINE ALL THE PEOPLE LIVING IN PEACE'

(John Lennon song);

ITALY, ROME – People march with banners supporting America's

Struggle over terrorism;

JAPAN – US Embassy where hundreds leave floral tribute;

JERUSALEM, EAST – Palestinian women lay flowers;

KOREA - Many gather with banners to support America;

LEBANON – Crowds gather in supporting American flag and banner:

LEBANESE FOR FREEDOM, AND AGAINST TERRORISM;

MACEDONIA, SKOPJE, – Candlelight tribute;

NETHERLANDS – All traffic stops for three minute silence;

NICARAGUA – People walk in protest against the injustice of 9/11;

NORWAY, OSLO, – Floral tributes outside the US Embassy;

PERU – Candlelight vigil;

POLAND, Warsaw – Outside US Embassy floral and candle tribute over

Ten feet deep;

PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC – The bell ringer strikes 'Liberty Bell'

Outside the US Embassy floral tributes;

PRISTINA, KOSOVO – Huge crowds gather carrying signs supporting

America while several men carry very large American flag;

SWEDEN – Candlelight tribute covers the local town square;

SWEDEN, ÖSTERSUND, – Rarely seen but soldiers take their hats

Off outside in respect of Americans fallen;

TAIWAN, TAIPEI – People gather with banners: 'WE ARE TOGETHER';

VATICAN CITY – Pope John Paul II says a public prayer;

DUESSELDORF, GERMANY – Thousands gather to remember the fallen;



These two gentlemen, as a gesture of support for Americans

Have copied President JF Kennedy's legendary

Ick bin ein Berliner speech;

OTTAWA, CANADA – 75,000 People gather for 9/11 memorial service;



BERLIN, GERMANY – 200,000 People gather for solidarity march



The sign reads: 'Our Deepest Sympathy'.
Photos courtesy of Tom Fletcher's web site: New York Architecture and Images¹⁵²

This gives the indication that everyone around the world was in unison with the United States after the atrocities of September 11, 2001. Perhaps a clear indication that this was not the case is a glimpse at some sentiments before and after the event being published in Arab newspapers. Shortly before the terrorist attacks of

¹⁵² For Each caption mentioned here there photos are obtainable @ <http://www.nyc-architecture.com/GON/GON001H.htm> . The Researcher is indebted to Tom Fletcher for his most generous willingness to share any photos on his website for educational purposes.

September 11, 2001 an adversarial declaration was being voiced within the Arab world:

'[Maher Taher] a member of the political bureau of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine ... a press conference in Damascus: 'We say to the Arab nation, hit American interests and threaten them. United States is a fundamental enemy that takes part in and holds responsibility of the elimination of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian villages ...'
(*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, August 28, 2001)¹⁵³

The atrocities of 9/11 did have an impact, until the day after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, the Palestinian media was voicing increasingly malevolent anti-American sentiment. In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, there was a sudden reduction in direct anti-US rhetoric, and more subtle references to America having to rethink its hegemonic status.

The following excerpt from an editorial, 'Give Peace a Chance' and the caricature below illustrate the ongoing anti-Americanism expressed in the Palestinian Authority.

'Three weeks after the earthquake, the Americans had to revise [their thinking] on many issues, perhaps the most important of which is its foreign policy that regarded others from an exaggerated sense of superiority [that] caused it not to see things clearly. The earthquake forced the Americans to get down out of their ivory tower and take a realistic look at what is happening on the planet. They view themselves

¹⁵³ This information is available at: <http://www.pmw.org.il/Hate%20USA-F.htm> [accessed 1 December 2008].

as its master, but actually they have discovered that there has been a huge build-up of hatred against them.' (*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, October 3, 2001)



Text: "Hey, Bushie, don't you look different since you decided to fight?!"

Interestingly, this article refers to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as an earthquake, in other words, a natural disaster. By so doing one inference may be that 9/11 was in essence an act of God or Allah. At the same time, by portraying Bush as a Muslim terrorist, the inference is that Bush is the 'evil' other. This example illustrates the way in which identity politics was played out around the world and myths were used by all sides defining the demands from the atrocities of September 11, 2001. So soon after the events of 9/11 *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* may be one of the few out-spoken anti-American newspapers. However, more reticent newspapers would come to join a similar chorus upon the emergence of American foreign policy outlining plans of an Iraqi invasion.

It is contended that the world-wide effusion of grief for any national disaster or terrorist atrocity has not been experienced in living memory. At the same time the

same outpouring of anguish and solidarity prevalent in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 has not been witnessed following: the October, 2002 Bali bombings; the March, 2004 Madrid bombings; the July, 2007 London bombings; or even more recently the November, 2008 Mumbai attacks. This would suggest that it wasn't just the sheer number of people that died on 9/11 (2,819)¹⁵⁴ or the fact that the victims originated from over 100 different countries but rather, it was the spell binding captivation of watching the felling of these two twentieth century monoliths and the missile airliner pummelled into the Pentagon that created such feeling. The iconic nature of the World Trade Center twin towers prior to September 11, 2001, suggests, without the live television coverage of this atrocity the effusion of sympathy from around the world would not have been as intense or as far-reaching. Interestingly enough, once the scale of Bush's foreign policy goals became clear to the international community, the solidarity shown by the international population became much more fragmented and diffuse. Arguably, this is principally due to the discourse of 9/11 being manifestly overrun by the 'rhetoric of otherness' through American myths which may be ideal for the domestic population and ensuring a patriotic discourse, but does little for the international population.

APPENDIX 2.8 (CHAPTER EIGHT):

'20 September 2001 Statement to Congress'

• George W. Bush

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the United States Response to the Terrorist Attacks of September 11 September 20, 2001

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, Members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

¹⁵⁴ Statistical Information available on the destruction of the twin towers and the cost to New York is available at: <http://nymag.com/news/articles/wtc/1year/numbers.htm> this information was accessed September, 2008.

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this Chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground, passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight. [Applause]

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last 9 days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union, and it is strong.

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched, on the evening of the tragedy, to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing "God Bless America." And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle, and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership, and for your service to our country.

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our national anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our Embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico, and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause—so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

On September 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as Al Qaida. They are some of the murderers indicted for bombing American Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and responsible for bombing the U.S.S. Cole. Al Qaida is to terror what the Mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money. Its goal is remaking the world and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics, a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader, a person named Usama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of Al Qaida has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see Al Qaida's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized. Many are starving, and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan—after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid—but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people; it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of Al Qaida who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats, and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist and every person in their support structure to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them.

Our war on terror begins with Al Qaida, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this Chamber, a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism and nazism and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends, in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking, how will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo 2 years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make: Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our Nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today dozens of Federal departments and agencies, as well as State and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level.

So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort to strengthen American security, a military veteran, an effective Governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee, and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

This is not, however, just America's fight, and what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded with sympathy and with support, nations from Latin America to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what? We're not going to allow it.

Americans are asking, what is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work and creativity and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today.

And finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in

sorrow and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

Tonight we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency.

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities, to know the plans of terrorists before they act and find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy and put our people back to work.

Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers, Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress and these two leaders to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

After all that has just passed, all the lives taken and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger, we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depends on us. Our Nation—this generation—will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came, where we were, and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. It is my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end. I will not forget this wound to our country and those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Thank you.